Libertarian Review

March-April 1977 — Vol. VI, No. 2

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HISTORY

Inside the Third Reich
Spandau: The Secret Diaries

By Albert Speer

Reviewed by James J. Martin / *Inside,* Macmillan, 1970 / $2.25 / *Spandau,* Macmillan, 1975 / $13.95

Albert Speer is the third generation of a family of first rank Mannheim architects, born in 1905. He joined the National Socialist German Workers Party late (1931), at a time of widespread desperation in Germany. (It was not the inflation of 1923 that caused the extreme political upheaval during the Weimar regime; it was the deflation and massive unemployment of 1930-32.)

With the advent of the forces of Adolf Hitler to power in 1933, Speer's career vaulted upward at a phenomenal rate. He became Hitler's personal architect and had a major impact on public construction in the Third Reich. "Der Fuehrer" was an amateur designer himself, and the rapport between the two was remarkable. The impressive number of photographs showing Speer at Hitler's side on various occasions is not the only testimony in support of this relationship, for sure.

Speer, who was never a soldier and was unacquainted with military logistics and technology, made his way into the closest echelon of Hitler's wartime advisers as a result of the death of Fritz Todt in an airplane accident in February, 1942. Todt was undoubtedly the organizational genius of the practical side of Nazi Germany. Although he held only one ministerial title, he directly controlled the work done by four other departments that were of actual ministerial rank. Speer inherited only two of Todt's jobs, the Ministry of Arms and Munitions, as well as the direction of the immense skilled labor corps devoted to special projects, previously known as Organization Todt.

The important part of Speer's first book, *Inside the Third Reich,* concerns what he is willing to tell —or what his various publishers will print—about the state of German industrial production war and otherwise, 1942-45. Speer's reminiscences were originally published by the German firm of Ullstein under the title *Erinnerungen* [*Recollections*]; this was one of the publishers put out of business by the Nazis, and brought back to Germany in the

wagons of the "liberators." It must have been flavorful revenge for them to publish Speer.

Speer's conquerors could have made much mileage out of his books in the first decade or so of the Cold War; now, much that they contain is anticlimactic. It is of course impossible to estimate how many times his manuscript was bleached by editors, but knowing the history and leaning of our Establishment publishers, it is safe to say that the chances of Speer's uncropped views reaching print under their auspices is in the class with those of an asteroid striking the absolute center of a large contemporary American city.

It is evident from the interview with Speer published in the *New York Times* on August 23, 1970, that the American edition contains added material attributed to him. When an original work or document is republished with elisions or the substitution of things that it did not originally contain, that are not by the original author, that are not called to public attention, and that alter the meaning, impact, or effect substantially or profoundly, it is customary to call this product a forgery. This sounds like a borderline case.

Despite Hitler Germany's reputation as a totalitarian land, as late as October, 1943, at least 6 million of its industrial labor force were still engaged in turning out consumer goods for the civilian market. Speer's plea to get 1.5 million German workers transferred to war production and for consumer goods production to be transferred to French factories got nowhere, mainly because of the apathy toward Speer's program on the part of both employers and the National Socialist regime. Nor was Speer able to convince the top leadership that their labor force could have been much enlarged by utilizing German women in industrial production. It was Speer's reiterated assertion that with coordination and cooperation on all levels, the size of the German armed forces and the total of war production could both have been *doubled* over what was achieved at any time in the first four years of the war.

According to Speer, not only was research and work on such things as an atom bomb, and, to a greater extent, jet engines and rockets of various

(Continued on page 18)

In Libertarian Review This Month

- *Inside the Third Reich* and *Spandau Diary* both by Albert Speer, reviewed by James J. Martin 1
- *The Death of Psychiatry* by E. Fuller Torrey, reviewed by Peter R. Breggin 3
- *All Quiet on the Western Front* by Erich Maria Remarque / *Johnny Got His Gun* by Dalton Trumbo / *The Good Soldier Svjek* by Jaroslav Hasek, reviewed by Tom G. Palmer ..4
- *The Long Thirst* by Thomas Coffey, reviewed by Roy A. Childs, Jr. 5
- *The Creative Process* by Brewster Chiselin, ed. / *The Creative Experience* by Stanley Rosner and Lawrence Abt, eds. / *Creativity and Personal Freedom* by Frank Barron, reviewed by Regina Hugo 6
- *Government-Mandated Price Increases* by Murray L. Weidenbaum, reviewed by Bruce Bartlett 7
- *The Uses of a Liberal Education* by Brand Blanshard, reviewed by George H. Smith 8
- "Editorial Pages and Individual Liberty" by Ken E. Grubbs, Jr. 9
- *Up From Communism* by John Diggins, reviewed by Leonard Liggio 10
- "Decontrolling Money" by Richard Ebeling 12
- *"Nazi Chic"* by David Brudnoy 16
- *To Understand Is to Invent* by Jean Piaget, reviewed by R. C. Orem 17
- *The Superlawyers* by Joseph Goulden, reviewed by D. T. Armentano 18
- *"George, Elton, and Joni"* by Steven Utley 19

DEPARTMENTS

- An Afterword from Readers, Authors, Reviewers 20
- A Word to Our Readers 2
- Cinema in Review 16
- Classified Advertisements 22
- Contributors in This Issue 2
- Essay Review 12
- Libertarian Cross-Currents 20
- Music in Review 19
- The Press 9
- Washington Watch 14

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A Word to Our Readers

PUBLISHER'S ANNOUNCEMENT

"I wish to announce the sale of Libertarian Review to Mr. Charles Koch of Wichita, Kansas, an arrangement long under discussion and now concluded effective with the next issue.

"As the masthead will indicate, the editorial offices have been moved to New York. Chuck Hamilton, president of Free Life Editions, will become publisher. Roy A. Childs, Jr., has been named editor, with Walter Grinder and Leonard P. Liggio as associate editors. I will continue as a consultant to the publication and as a corporate director.

"This move bodes well both for LR and for the libertarian movement. LR will now operate for the first time by a full-time editorial and administrative staff and should soon manage to resume a monthly publishing schedule. I look forward as eagerly as each reader to the expected improvement in the quality of a journal which has been close to my heart for the past five years, and whose continuance I regard as vital to a healthy libertarian movement. I wish the new owners and management the very best success and pledge them my support and assistance in every way."

Robert D. Kephart

• The Winter catalog for *Audio-Forum* is now available. Audio-Forum will be happy to send a copy to any interested *LR* reader: send 25 cents in coin or stamps for postage and handling, to *Audio-Forum*, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.

• *Menckeniana* is a quarterly publication, issued since 1962 from the Mencken Room of Baltimore's famed Enoch Pratt Free Library, devoted to the rambunctuous world of H. L. Mencken, the influence of his work on his contemporaries, and the significance of his ideas in today's world. Each issue contains one or more previously unpublished item by or about Mencken. Annual subscriptions to *Menckeniana* are only $3.00 each. To take advantage of this unique publication, mail your check, made out to the Enoch Pratt Free Library, to: Menckeniana, 400 Cathedral Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.

• Los Angeles Radio station KPFK, owned and operated by the Pacifica Foundation, has begun broadcasting a new fifteen minute commentary, "*Libertarian Viewpoint*," heard every Friday. The program is produced by Charles Barr, and directed by William Susel, who has been active in the Libertarian Party. One program, broadcast January 21, 1977, featured a discussion between Diane Alexander, author, lecturer and anthropologist, and William Susel, dealt with the Carter administration, and how it is likely to differ from the regimes of Nixon and Ford. For information on "Libertarian Viewpoint," write to: William Susel, 12248 Spring Trail, San Fernando, CA 91342.

• Prolific *LR* associate editor *Tibor Machan* has just published an introductory textbook for philosophy, entitled *Introduction to Philosophical Inquiries*, published by Allyn and Bacon, Inc., in Boston, MA. ■

Contributors
IN THIS ISSUE

Dominic Armentano teaches economics at the University of Hartford, in Hartford, Connecticut, and is the author of *The Myths of Antitrust,* published by Arlington House. He is a frequent contributor to Libertarian publications. **Bruce Bartlett** is a graduate student in history at Georgetown University, and has worked for several Congressmen on Capitol Hill. **Dr. Peter Breggin** is a noted psychiatrist, and author of two novels, *After the Good War* and *The Crazy from the Sane.* He has written widely on the relationship between psychiatry and the State, and is a leading opponent of coercive psychosurgery. His essays and reviews have appeared in a number of significant publications. **David Brudnoy** is a syndicated columnist, TV and radio personality, and a freelance writer. He writes on films and books for various journals, and is the editor of *The Conservative Alternative.* **Roy A. Childs, Jr.** is a Research Associate for the *Center for Libertarian Studies,* and author of numerous articles and reviews in libertarian publications. Beginning with the May/June issue, he will serve as editor of *Libertarian Review.* **Richard Ebeling** is a graduate student in economics at New York University, studying under Profs. Ludwig Lachmann and Israel Kirzner. He is the editor of the Occasional Papers series of the Center for Libertarian Studies. **Walter E. Grinder** is the executive director of the *Center for Libertarian Studies* and an associate editor of *LR.* He has written widely on issues relating to history and economics, contributed the introduction to *Free Life Editions'* reprint of Albert Jay Nock's *Our Enemy the State,* and is working on a study of State capitalism. He has also edited a collection of essays by Prof. Ludwig Lachmann, the Austrian economist, which is scheduled to appear soon. **Ken E. Grubbs** is the youthful (28) editorial page editor of the *Santa Ana Register,* and a frequent radio personality. **Regina Hugo** is a freelance writer living in the state of Washington. Her review of Suzanne Langer's masterwork *Mind: An Essay in Human Feeling* appeared in an earlier issue of *Libertarian Review.* **Leonard Liggio** teaches history in the American Studies Program at SUNY, Long Island, is on the board of directors of the Center for Libertarian Studies, and is co-editor, with James Martin, of *Watershed of Empire,* a collection of essays on New Deal foreign policy published by *Ralph Myles.* **James J. Martin** is a leading revisionist historian, the author of *Revisionist Viewpoints, Men Against the State,* and the monumental study *American Liberalism and World Politics* 1931-1941. Dr. Martin is primarily responsible for bringing back to print a host of individualist classics, including works by Stirner, Spooner, Tucker, and many others, and is currently at work on a study of U.S.-Soviet relations during World War II. **R. C. Orem** is the author of *A Montessori Handbook* and a freelance writer. **Tom G. Palmer** was until recently on the national staff of the *Libertarian Party* and the national director of the Young Libertarian Alliance. He is currently pursuing studies at St. Johns College. **Eric Scott Royce** works for the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation and is the editor/publisher of *Southern Libertarian Review.* **George H. Smith** is the author of *Atheism: The Case Against God,* and is a frequent lecturer and contributor to libertarian publications. He is also the director of the *Forum for Philosophical Studies.* **Steven Utley** is a freelance writer and reviewer whose fiction has appeared in *Galaxy* and other magazines. His first book (ed. with George W. Proctor), *Lone Star Universe,* an anthology of speculative fiction and fantasy by Texas writers, has just been published by Heidelberg Publishers. ■

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The Death of Psychiatry

PSYCHOLOGY

By E. Fuller Torrey

Review by Peter R. Breggin/Chilton Book Co., 1974/$8.95

Few books have changed history, and still fewer have changed it for the better. One such book is Thomas Szasz's *Myth of Mental Illness.* Its two-pronged attack on the medical model for human misery and the involuntary treatment of psychiatric patients has spearheaded a decade and more of scientific, legal, ethical and political resistance to psychiatric fraud and oppression. The fraud is that psychiatrists claim to treat a medical disease called "mental illness;" the oppression takes place when they enforce this viewpoint on the hapless patient through involuntary treatment.

Szasz's critique has had vast influence; it has even begun to reach into the bowels of the establishment. E. Fuller Torrey, the author of *The Death of Psychiatry*, is a psychiatrist with no less a position than that of special assistant to the Director of the National Institute of Mental Health. How can a man who serves the government agency most devoted to the promotion of psychiatry nonetheless write a book drawing upon the wisdom of Thomas Szasz? The secret lies within the book itself: Torrey is excellent on data, and at times seems very sharp in his criticism of specific concepts and practices; but he falls far short on fundamental ethical and political principles, the kind of libertarian ideals that threaten and shake the foundations of governmental control and psychiatric intervention. While he calls for the death of psychiatry with one breath, he blows new life into state therapy with another.

Torrey is worth reading for his scathing indictment of the medical model of personal problems and the corresponding medical monopoly over the delivery of counseling services to unhappy people. He also criticizes involuntary treatment and calls conventional hospital treatment into question. He takes note of studies indicating that psychiatrists diagnose, treat and discharge their patients more according to their own fears, biases and self-interest than according to any rational or ethical system. He squarely confronts the old myth that mental patients are any more dangerous than other citizens, and he proves how little psychiatrists can be trusted in their evaluations of potential dangerousness. Most admirably, he goes out on a libertarian limb by endorsing the right to suicide. He even advocates personal responsibility, declaring that free will exists to one degree or another in everyone with personal problems, and he reminds us that deterministic psychiatric concepts encourage the very irresponsibility which psychiatrists are mandated to "cure." While doing all this, his text is filled with references to interesting and worthwhile research studies.

Wherein are the problems?

Torrey is much more the power-seeking bureaucrat than a libertarian. He wants to increase government monitoring of the professional relationship between psychotherapist and client. He redefines psychotherapy into an educational model, and chooses the designation "tutor" for all those professionals who help individuals gain self-understanding and a better life. This in itself is admirable, for it undermines the medical monopoly. But once having made this redefinition he calls for government control and licensing of these tutors! Special regulations would be established, including the virtual enslavement of the tutor by holding him responsible for his availability to clients during personal emergencies. Thus the government becomes responsible for how, when and where professionals may conduct conversations with customers interested in receiving personal help with their problems!

Consistent with this promotion of bureaucratic control, the National Institute of Mental Health would become the National Institute of Behavioral Science, clearly forshadowing my futuristic National Agency for Mental Security in *After the Good War.* All the so-called psychological, social and behavioral sciences would now be subject to government finance and control through this one super-agency.

Still more ominous, the government would now become responsible for the equivalent of the "free lunch" in psychotherapy. Says Torrey, "The State would be responsible for making available to all students a certain level of self-education." By this, he means that the state would get into the business of financing psychotherapy. While Torrey is critical of other grandiose psychiatric schemes for the public good, he neglects the totalitarian threat inherent in his own scheme of government financed psychotherapy for all.

Torrey would not only increase the power of federal behavioral scientists, he would further strengthen his much derided medical model. Schizophrenics, he tells us, have a brain disease. They should be treated by physicians and they should be given drugs. That these drugs are non-specific suppressor agents — that they simply subdue the patient — passes him by. Thus he follows in the footsteps of three hundred years of biological psychiatrists, all of whom, at every point in history, have made similarly unfounded claims concerning a "disease" subject to medical "treatment." In support of this view, Torrey cites only a handful of modern articles. Had he been writing in the 1930's, he would have cited dozens more. They have all fallen into disrepute with their passage before time's more objective eye.

Will a book like Torrey's do more harm than good? It may, for it borrows some obvious truths from Szasz, and then perverts them in the interest of greater governmental control over our personal lives. Is it worth reading? Definitely. It does offer a panoramic critique of many psychiatric absurdities and abuses, while displaying a few of its own. But read Szasz first. As I've said before, if you haven't read a book by Szasz, do so before you read another word about psychiatry. ■

My Years with Ludwig von Mises

Margit von Mises

Illustrated

MISES—MAN AND INSTITUTION

- Mises reads Nixon—accurately
- Mises' advice to students who are required to read socialist literature in school
- Reflections on the American middle class
- Mises on Schumpeter
- The Mont Pelerin Society
- The famous NYU seminar. Ayn Rand attends
- Mises foretells the fate of Britain
- The story of *Human Action.* Mises' view of his masterwork
- The only television show Mises watched
- Per Mises: the one question you should never ask an economist
- Advice to young men from Boehm-Bawerk
- Why Mises did not want to come to America
- Mises learns a trick from Henry Hazlitt
- Leonard Read and the Foundation for Economic Education
- Mises as dictator: what he would have done
- A banquet for Mises—but somebody forgets to invite him
- The greatest invention of the century, as Mises sees it
- Mises' *Socialism*: the impact
- The secret of Mises' remarkable memory and vigorous health
- Narrow escape: the Nazis move into Austria, confiscate Mises' library
- Help for fledgling economists Hayek and Haberler
- First impressions of America
- The one job that would have made Mises happy
- Why Mises never wrote an autobiography
- The one human weakness that Mises could not forgive
- Mises writes for the *New York Times*—for $10 an article
- The auto accident. Margit makes a vow
- Famed economist "changes" his mind about Mises
- Albert Hahn on the difference between Mises and other economists
- Mises' only hobby
- Mises' place in history: Hans Kelsen's big worry
- Mises on the difference between plagiarism and research
- Mises' "contribution" to socialism
- Mises despairs for liberty
- The meeting of Hazlitt and Mises
- The Misesian litmus test for a scholar's importance
- What Mises thought about Rothbard's *Man, Economy and State*
- Mises: thoughts on women
- Mises' dream of a serious libertarian journal. The two periodicals that came closest to his ideal
- Fascinating correspondence from Mises to Hayek

Ludwig von Mises was one of the century's intellectual giants. In an era of growing collectivism he stood out as the most influential and profound of the free-market economists. He was the mentor of other giants like Nobel Laureate F. A. von Hayek, Hans Sennholz, Wilhelm Roepke, Jacques Rueff, Murray Rothbard, Luigi Einaudi and Ludwig Lachmann. Three years after his death at 92, interest in his thought is soaring as the conventional economic wisdom crumbles.

But if Mises is an institution, the keystone of Austrian School economics, what of Mises the man? In the preface to this delightful memoir, his wife of thirty-five years writes:

"My husband was a very reserved person. While he was kind and friendly to all, he was extremely self-restrained and uncommunicative about his own life and affairs. . . . His feelings belonged only to me. I have reason to believe that I am the only person who really knew him.

"That is why I have written this book. . . . By telling the story of our life together, I shall try to reveal Ludwig von Mises as he really was: a great thinker, a great scholar, a great teacher—but still a lonely man with a great need for love and affection."

Here, then, is Mises the man. "Lu." An institution humanized. With wit and Old World grace, Mrs. von Mises tells of the early years, the flight from Nazi tyranny, the difficult first years in America, the story behind the classic *Human Action,* the famous NYU seminar, the last years.

Mrs. von Mises also gives us fascinating glimpses of the many major figures whose lives touched her husband's, often with Sennholz, Boehm-Bawerk, Schumpeter, Rueff, Rothbard, Einaudi, Roepke, Otto von Hapsburg, Ayn Rand, Rebecca West, Sylvester Petro, Hans Kelsen, Andre Maurois, Ralph Raico, Gottfried Haberler, Percy and Bettina Greaves, Henry Hazlitt, Leonard Read, Israel Kirzner, Lawrence Fertig, Fritz Machlup, Bruno Leoni, William Peterson, Frederick Nymeyer, Lawrence Moss, Ilse Mintz, Anthony Fisher, Albert Hahn and Philip Cortney.

An extra dimension is added to this illuminating memoir by two never-before-published tributes: one to Mises by Hayek, the other to Hayek by Mises.

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Johnny Got His Gun
By Dalton Trumbo

The Good Soldier Svjek
By Jaroslav Hasek

All Quiet on the Western Front
By Erich Maria Remarque

Reviewed by Tom Palmer / *All Quiet,* Fawcett Crest, 1928 / $1.25 / *Johnny,* Bantam, 1939 / $1.75 / *Good Soldier,* Crowell, 1974 / 5.95.

One of the most profound books on war ever written is Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front.* Through the medium of the novel, Remarque shows us the experiences, thoughts and feelings of the innocent victims who actually do the fighting and dying in the wars politicians embroil their subjects in. One of the purposes of a novel is to recreate in the reader the experiences of the characters by bringing the reader into the plot, involving him as participant as well as observer. In this respect Remarque excells. At once, you identify with the miserable and frightened soldier of Remarque's novel as his friends and past fall around him, knowing that the same fate lies in wait for him.

The story is written from the perspective of a German youth who is called up for war with his high school class. Paul Baumer, the main character, enters the war with little knowledge of what he is in for. He and his comrades are persuaded by their school master with patriotic exhortations and fear of ostracism to join up and bring Germany "her place in the sun." As Baumer reflects, "The idea of authority, which they (his elders) represented, was associated in our minds with a greater insight and a manlier wisdom. But the first death we saw shattered this belief ... They surpassed us only in phrases and cleverness. The first bombardment showed us our mistake, and under the world as they taught it to us broke in pieces .... While they taught that duty to one's country is the greatest thing, we already knew that death throes are stronger."

Baumer fights and does as he is told while his friends die wretchedly about him. Remarque, who was himself forced to serve in the German army during the Great War and experienced that which he relates, portrays war without the glory and tinsel razzle-dazzle associated with it by imperialists and armchair generals. For the generals and power wielders who "fight" the wars and reap the profits, war indeed can be "glorious," but for those who do the bidding of these chessboard killers, the ones who experience war first hand, it is a miserable and degrading spectacle. The book's characters receive letters from their old school master which describe them as the "Iron Youth." It is only they who realize what they really are — a group of frightened near-children with no heart for what they are doing. Their lives have been cruelly snatched from them by imperialism and militarism.

"Summer of 1918 — Never has life in its niggardliness seemed to us so desirable as now; — the red poppies in the meadows round our billets, the smooth beetles on the blades of grass, the warm evenings in the cool, dim rooms, the black, mysterious trees of the twilight, the stars and the flowing waters, dreams and long sleep — O Life, life, life!" War is mass murder. This is a self-evident proposition which is easily held by libertarians as an intellectual position, but it takes something more to bring it to a visceral conviction as well. I know of no book which brings home the case for peace so well. It is not often that a novel brings me to tears, but the ending of this book brought on one of those rare occasions.

Dalton Trumbo's classic *Johnny Got His Gun* comes in a close second to Remarque's masterwork in moving both the intelict and the emotions. This story also takes place during World War I, though Trumbo writes about a young American infantryman. The young man of the story is horribly wounded, deprived of his sight, smell and hearing (his entire face is gone), as well as his arms and legs. The book consists largely of flashbacks to his life before he was "hit by an enemy shell" and entered as a number in some report filed by nameless bureaucrats in Washington, D.C. Now that it is lost, he realizes how desirable life is.

During the mid 1960s and the Vietnam War, the newspapers used to have little boxes on the front page listing "their" dead and "ours." People would glance at them and then turn to the comics section. It takes something like *Johnny Got His Gun* to remind you that each one of those numbers represented a group of men, each of whom had a life, complete with memories, families, lovers, hopes and plans. The War Lords of Washington had brutally rubbed them out. When a man becomes a number it is easy to erase him without remorse.

> "I know of no book which brings home the case for peace so well."

The end of the book contains Trumbo's major philosophic statement, as the wounded man begins to communicate with his nurse by tapping out messages in Morse code with his body. Using this method, he attempts to relate to her years of silent and isolated brooding about the conditions and forces which landed him where he is. He asks to be placed on exhibit as a warning of what war is and what the next will be like. The doctor turns him down and drugs him to end the annoying tappings. The last few pages leave the youth fading under the drug and hating those who had taken his life and would continue, unhindered by conscience or public condemnation, to sacrifice still more. He carries on a great libertarian tirade against the State in his mind. "If you tell us to make the world safe for democracy," he screams wordlessly, "we will take you seriously and by God and by Christ we will make it so. We will use the guns you force upon us; we will use them to defend our very lives and the menace to our lives does not lie on the other side of a no man's land that was set apart without our consent. It lies within our own boundaries here and now we have seen it and we know it."

The only disappointment of this terrifying book is the author's introduction. Trumbo's typical leftism leads him to denounce only some wars, and of course, the war against *Nazi Tyranny*, to make the world safe for democracy, was different. World War I, Korea, and Vietnam were all despicable wars, but World War II, the bloodiest war in history, was not. It's a shame that Mr. Trumbo's blind political allegiances (his pro-Soviet attitudes and desire for war were typical of the left of the late thirties and forties) led him to refrain from applying the message of *Johnny Got His Gun* to World War II. He even oes so far as to defend censorship aimed against his own book. "There are times when it may be needful for certain private rights to give way to the requirements of a larger public good." Despite this flaw, Trumbo's *Johnny Got His Gun* is brilliant.

While Remarque and Trumbo describe war from the point of view of the suffering soldier, Jaroslav Hasek uses war as a stage on which to lambast and mock the State. Hasek was active in prewar libertarian circles in Prague and was inducted into the Austro-Hungarian army after a long history of anti-State activism. He had taken part in anti-imperialist demonstrations in 1897 and in 1906 joined the Czechslovakian anarchist movement. In 1907 he became editor of an anarchist journal. Hasek was famous in Prague for the pranks he played on the monarchy and its servants. One of the most daring of these hoaxes occurred just prior to the war's outbreak when Hasek took a room at the hotel U Valsu, known for being a half brothel and half hotel, and registered as a Russian. The name he registered under sounded Russian, but became "Kiss my arse" in Czech when read backwards. He declared to the clerk that his reason for being in Prague was to check into the activities of the Austrian General Staff and, with war hysteria at full pitch, the desk clerk notified the police. The gendarmes, thinking they had an important spy on their hands, surrounded the hotel, only to find the famous prankster Hasek. His response to questions about his purpose was that he was checking the efficiency of the Austrian police. Hasek the anarchist was jailed.

This anecdote gives a hint of the content of Hasek's famous masterwork, which is largely based on his own wartime experiences. The good soldier Josef Svejk plays one hoax after another on the Austrian military apparatus. He does this by simply following orders ... to the letter. Svejk does all he is ordered to do, precisely as it is ordered. This, of course, inevitably leads to chaos and the sight of superior officers tearing their hair out by the handful, for how can one punish such imbecilic obedience? Without a doubt, *The Good Soldier Svejk* is one of the most hilarious books I have ever read. Hasek, who has been compared favorably with Cervantes and Rabelais, has written one of the most barbed and witty assaults on the State ever penned. While it is a long book, and the writing is at times uneven (Hasek wrote parts of it while drunk), the content is sufficiently captivating to enthrall the reader from start to finish. The humorous illustrations by the Czech artist and companion of Hasek, Josef Lada, enliven the pages, perfectly complementing Hasek's magnum opus.

Each of these three books is filled with insights that complement libertarian analysis. I recommend them without reservation. ■

Liggio *(Continued from page 11)*

Review, Brent Bozell, Garry Wills and Robert Welch. Buckley "tended to reject much of classical economic liberalism and the utilitarian ethics of laissez-faire, the dynamic philosophy of change and the calculus of pleasure that undermines the moral restraints of custom, religion, family and community . . . . Buckley became the George Fitzhugh of the master class."

A far cry from the Souther Agrarians with their support of the middle-class worker and farmer against monopoly and exploitation. In *Who Owns America?* and *American Review,* they expressed their development of the ideas of G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc. Their emphasis on ownership of the soil, craftsmanship, self-government and localism, and the expression of values through poetry rather than the Old Left's scientism and positivism, found their heirs in the New Left.

"The link between the Old Right and the New Left" is much deeper and more important than Diggins suggests, certainly much more than their defeat by a common enemy—liberal corporatism. One would be hard pressed to decide whether it was Hubert Humphrey and Dean Rusk or James Burnham who most often accused the New Left of the ultimate treason: neo-isolationism. Due to his own "Vital Center" liberalism, Diggins is limited in the kinds of issues that he perceives and the directions in which he traces them. But still, the issues which he does discuss are important ones, and he treats them with lucidity. There is indeed a great deal more work to be done in understanding the transformations of the American political spectrum in the twentieth century, but *Up From Communism* should still be regarded as an impressive contribution to our knowledge in this area. ■

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PROHIBITION

The Long Thirst

By Thomas Coffey

Reviewed by Roy A. Childs, Jr./Norton, 1974/$9.95

Some months ago, on Tom Snyder's "Tomorrow" television program, there was an extraordinary guest, whose face was hidden from the camera and the television audience. He was identified only as "Joey the Hitman," and was a gunman for organized crime, responsible for a great many killings over the years. He had no compunctions about his "job," had made a good living at it, and had published at least one pseudonymous memoir about his experiences. He was a perfect guest for a talk show, and talk he did, for a fascinating hour.

What struck this viewer most were his references to the relationship between organized crime and government intrusions into social life, outlawing such things as loan sharking, prostitution, gambling and, particularly, illicit drugs. At the end of the show, Joey made a rather surprising statement: he thanked the Women's Christian Temperence Union for having made his interesting career and life possible. Joey, it transpired, had gotten his start with the forces of organized crime during Prohibition, which the WCTU had helped to promote. It was a grand gesture, indeed, for a hit man to thank such women for his successes in life.

Thomas Coffey makes a complementary point in the Foreward to *The Long Thirst:*

> The parallels between our current narcotics prohibition and the alcohol prohibition of the 1920's are too striking to ignore . . . . The smuggling, hijacking, bribery, corruption, political maneuvering, gang warfare, and disrespect for law which became institutions in America during the '20's operate again in the '70's.
>
> The contraband commodity has changed from booze to drugs and the volume of business may be smaller, but the profit per customer is greater. Some of our most prosperous of men were gangster liquor dealers during the 1920's, while some of the policemen and public officials who protect them may be the grandsons of men who did likewise fifty years ago. So many policemen, politicans and government agents have been caught doing business with drug racketeers that it is reasonable to ask whether the agencies responsible for stopping the drug traffic are actually being used to perpetuate it.

The Long Thirst is not a scholarly work on prohibition, but rather a story in human terms. It is Prohibition in America, 1920-1933 as lived by: "a frustrated governor, a crooked mayor, a slippery Bishop, a blustering bigot, a formidable lobbyist, a rotund sleuth, a stylish hoodlum, an honest rumrunner, a deceived bootlegger, a militant socialite, a woman prosecutor, three dry presidents—and a wet one." Into this book is squeezed a great deal of life, with its frustrations, its occasional sadness, failures, disruptions, and its humor. Thomas Coffey is interested to show us how Prohibition affected human lives: he helps us to *see* the results, the generation of organized crime itself as a sort of Hayekian "spontaneous order," to flout the law, the unintended criminal consequences of restrictionism; there is the rapid rise and fall of illustrious and not-so-illustrious careers, the dizzying wealth accumulated almost overnight by some, the violent deaths suffered by others.

It is indeed this human element which makes *The Long Thirst* so fascinating. Izzy Einstein, a lowly postal clerk, applies for a job as an agent when prohibition strikes, and has the most exciting time of his life as "Prohibition Agent No. 1," arresting people left and right; Governor Al Smith, a wet Governor (an even wetter candidate for President) finds himself trapped by anti-Catholic biggotry because of his position on booze, and in the end finds himself outmaneuvered by shrewd politicans, such as FDR.

We watch the rise and fall of lobbyist Wayne Wheeler, of the Anti-Saloon League; attorney George Remus begins with a $50,000 per year legitimate job, pours over the Prohibition laws with cunning and intelligence, and builds a liquor empire netting more than $40 million. His wife Imogene makes it with a Prohibition agent, promotes his destruction in prison, dissipates his fortune, and plots against his life, only to face justice in the end. We watch the career of Al Capone skyrocket, with Capone beginning as a subordinate and ending with an operation worth more than $400 million. There are infidelities, scheming, maneuvering, shootings, beatings, payoffs, and a great deal more besides, all caused effectively by Prohibition. Each chapter in *The Long Thirst* picks up a strand in the life of a major character, with titles like: "The Country Gives in Quietly," "President Hoover Appoints a Commission," "President Hoover Wishes He Hadn't Appointed a Commission," "Franklin D. Roosevelt Admits He's Damp," and "The Long Thirst Ends." It reads like a good novel.

Today, we suffer from a "drug problem." Half a century ago, we were in the midst of the "booze problem," and what some pious intellectual frauds called America's "noble experiment" — Prohibition. Foisted upon unsophisticated Americans by a flock of biggoted "Progressive" reformers and businessmen whose capacities for tolerance were severely taxed by people enjoying themselves over a drink, Prohibition was indeed an experiment: an experiment in attempting to control the consumption habits of the American people by oppression, intimidation, harassment, violence, imprisonment, and murder.

(Continued on page 16)

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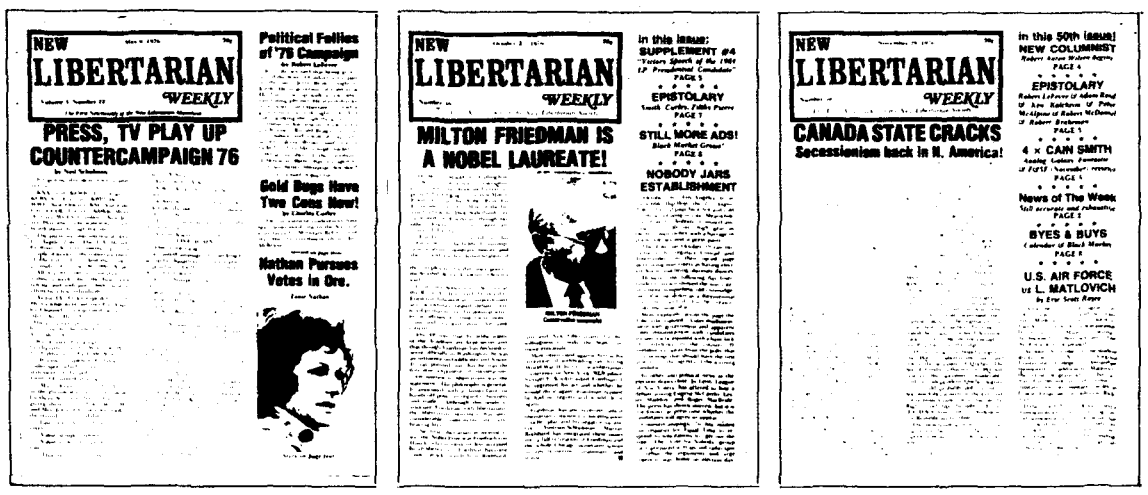

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The Creative Process
Ed. By Brewster Ghiselin

LIFE OF THE MIND

The Creative Experience
Ed. By Stanley Rosner and Lawrence Abt

Creativity and Personal Freedom
By Frank Barron

Reviewed by Regina Hugo / *Process,* New American Library, 1955 / $1.50 / *Experience,* Delta, 1970 / $2.95 / *Personal Freedom,* Van Nostrand, 1968 / $4.95.

Several nights ago, my mind full of thoughts about my review, I had this dream: It is early in Beethoven's career. One day, a piece emerges from his pen that he and I know carries the first unmistakeable earmarks of original genius. Someone asks me why. I pause. I know it as I know my own name, I am filled with the wonder of it. But I can't say why. *And neither can Beethoven.*

This expresses the sense of mystery that seems to envelop the creative act. Does this mean inquiry is wasted? To quote Walter Kaufmann: "When we tell a child the so-called facts of life with the most scrupulous scientific honesty, disdaining all fig leaves, this surely does not entail any claim that no mysteries remain."

Creativity is one of the most fascinating and significant puzzles of human nature. The creative act exists at the frontiers of human consciousness. When exploring a frontier, we need all the maps we can find, however inaccurate or sketchy they might be.

Many creators have themselves undertaken such exploration. Brewster Ghiselin, in *The Creative Process,* has brought together an illuminating collection of these, including classic accounts from Coleridge to Poincaré, from Mozart to Herbert Spencer. Ghiselin opens with a long introduction which succinctly and

> "Creativity is one of the most fascinating and significant puzzles of human nature. The creative act exists at the frontiers of human consciousness."

admirably summarizes many of the patterns that emerge from these accounts. As one reads on, there is an exhilarating sense of seeing these patterns form from the chaotic flush of life itself, of being inside the creators' minds as these seeming miracles occur.

Understanding begins to dispel the mystery, though the wonder remains. An example: Poincaré emphasizes the role of feelings in the mathematician's work, while Cocteau reminds us that thought is equally crucial to the poet. We see that artistic and scientific creativity, whatever their differences, are essentially the same process. Reading the various accounts of artistic creation, and connecting them to the descriptions of scientific discovery, a further insight is crystallized: The role of artistic form, like that of the scientific problem, is to set parameters for the freely-ranging activities of the imagination, i.e., both the range and its borders are necessary. Such insights proliferate and fecundate excitingly throughout this collection.

Rosner and Abt's series of interviews, *The Creative Experience,* is a perfect complement to the Ghiselin anthology. For here we begin to place the creative process in the larger context of the total life experience of the originators. These interviewees are all well-known, each in a different field; many are world famous: Noam Chomsky, Harlow Shapley, Arthur Koestler, Aaron Copland, Edward Steichen, etc.

> "Artistic and scientific creativity, whatever their differences, are essentially the same process."

One of the most basic elements of creativity is concretized in *The Creative Experience.* In one interview after another, in field after field, we are reminded of the need for taking off the "blinders," for getting out of the same old "grooves," for constantly battling "to keep from rigidifying," for maintaining the "open eye" and the "open mind." "If it's surprising, it's exciting," states Noam Chomsky. And Steichen echoes him even more radically: "There are no good habits." Says Frank Barron: "Creation is a stone thrown uphill against the downward rush of habit." But what of the role of knowledge, skill and plain old sweat? Rosner and Abt answer thus: The keys are "structured openness" and "disciplined flexibility." Or, know your stuff, but *take nothing for granted.*

The stress of many of these interviews on the continual interplay of the whole of one's experience struck a spark in me. When I read of film director Sidney Lumet's belief that if a flexible equilibrium hadn't been reached in the rest of his life, "the work would have slowly run down," it caught fire. I've always wondered why many scientists, especially physical scientists, run out of new discoveries so young, while artists often produce unabatedly all their lives. Rosner and Abt suggest, in their conclusion, that many scientists, *especially physical scientists,* tend to isolate their creativity in their work, to keep it separate from the rest of their lives, particularly their human relationships. Perhaps this containment of creativity in one area, this compartmentalization, suggests one key to understanding this disturbing phenomenon.

Conversely, a full, creative *life,* indeed all human growth and expansion, is nourished by the same sources as the production of new works or ideas—and *follows the same rules.* This is an idea of revolutionary significance for the actual quality of people's lives, one of the most truly liberating ideas of all.

As an extended, synthesizing exploration of the roots and offshoots of creativity, Frank Barron's *Creativity and Personal Freedom* is a landmark. A rich and suggestive work, it is the fruit of many years of thought and research into the foundations of psychological vitality, covering a prodigious array of subjects: the formation of personal philosophy, growth and change through psychotherapy, enriching human relationships, the meaning of freedom and free will, independence of jugement and resistance to conformity, what expansion of consciousness means, drug and transcendental experience, creativity in all its forms. Barron shows how psychological research, complete with normal curves and distribution clusters, can deal with such complex and crucial phenomena.

His opening framework:

> "A person may be said to be most elegant, and most healthy, when his awareness includes the broadest possible aspects of human experience, and the deepest possible comprehension of them, while at the same time he is most simple and direct in his feelings, thoughts, and actions."

Then he begins to interconnect, to correlate, to give experimental validation for many of the themes covered more impressionistically and anecdotally by the other books.

Three themes hinted at obliquely in them are here sharply focused:

1. Creativity is widely dispersed through the population, with intelligence a necessary condition of really original work, *but not a sufficient one.*

2. Creative people are both crazier and saner than the general population. That is, they are unusually open to profound feelings, employing repression far less than the average. This causes them to seem unusually troubled, but they are also strong enough to handle such temporary instability and anxiety without falling apart. It is precisely this combination of open self-awareness with integrative strength that makes their creativity possible.

3. Independence of judgment is strongly correlated with originality and its accompanying personality traits. For example, a group of creative writers showed statistically *twice* as much independence of judgment as the norm. Obviously this has powerful social implications. All three books suggest that creative people are those most resistant to any sort of conformity or authority. As Barron unequivocally puts it: "If the rules deprive you of some part of yourself, then it is better to be unruly."

> "Many scientists, *especially physical scientists,* tend to isolate their creativity in their work, to keep it separate from the rest of their lives, particularly their human relationships."

The more one thinks about the sources and correlatives of creativity, the more the waves of implication spread, finally touching all the most vital questions facing humankind. These three books, complementing one another in method and material, are, with Koestler's *Act of Creation,* Maslow's late work, and the books of Colin Wilson, the most interesting and accessible explorations of this human frontier.

Barron offers us this enticing glimpse of our frontier's topography:

> "When such simplicity amid complexity has been achieved... two new and most important affects come into existence in the individual's experience. One of these is the feeling that one is free and that life and its outcome are in one's own hands. The other is a new experience of the passage of time, and a deeper sense of relaxed participation in the present moment."

■

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Government-Mandated Price Increases

By Murray L. Weidenbaum

Reviewed by Bruce Bartlett / American Enterprise Institute, 1975 / $3.00

In recent testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Aviation, John E. Robson, chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, said that the board found "persuasive" the numerous studies on the airline industry which concluded that regulation had led to inefficiency, thwarted desirable change and benefited vested interests at the public's expense. "Close analysis seems to bear out that regulation has, over time, probably produced a higher cost level than would have occurred in its absence," he admitted.

In 1974, Lewis A. Engman, chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, made similar charges. "Our airlines, our truckers, our railroads, our electronic media, and countless others are on the dole," he said. "We get irate about welfare fraud, but our complex systems of hidden regulatory subsidies make welfare fraud look like petty larceny."

> "... those subject to government regulation invariably come to control the regulatory apparatus. This is as true of airlines and the CAB, unions and the NLRB, as it is for almost every other vested interest."

As everyone who read Gabriel Kolko's *Railroads and Regulation* or *Triumph of Conservatism* knows, those subject to government regulation invariably come to control the regulatory apparatus. This is as true of airlines and the CAB, unions and the NLRB, as it is for almost every other vested interest. This always means that the public is forced to pay more than it would on the free market. The reasons why this happens are complex but less important than the fact that it exists. Murray Weidenbaum has proved it.

When the economy is booming, it can afford the extravagance of paying more than it has to for goods and services produced by government regulated industries. When it is not so good, people become more receptive to the truth. It is the force of reality, more than simply the persuasiveness of Professor Weidenbaum's study, that has made it so important.

Weidenbaum uses the case study method in his work. He simply goes down the list of government regulations and calculates their dollar cost to the consumer. Thus he points out that the price of a new car in 1974 was approximately $320 higher than it would have been in the absence of federally imposed safety and pollution controls. This does not even consider the higher taxes necessary to pay for the regulatory machinery. The story is the same with all the other agencies Weidenbaum examines.

In keeping with AEI's policy of balancing its conclusions, Weidenbaum tries to avoid outright advocation of the abolishment of federal regulatory agencies. His object is only to show that such regulations are not for free. The cost may be hidden by higher prices, but it is there nevertheless. If society deems the cost justified by the benefits, well that is all right to Weidenbaum. He simply wants people to have their eyes open and not be fooled into thinking they are getting something for nothing.

This is an excellent work. One of the most hard-hitting AEI has ever published. While one could hope for more forceful conclusions, one cannot deny that much of the present support for deregulation in Congress is a direct result of studies like this one. I can only commend Prof. Weidenbaum and AEI for a job well done. ■

The 1976

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A Non-Interventionist Foreign Policy: Earl C. Ravenal. Dr. Ravenal accuses the American government of hypocricy, secrecy, elitism and waste in its conduct of foreign affairs. He also tells how we can reduce the threat of war. A well-known writer and adviser on American foreign and military policy, Dr. Ravenal is a former director of the Asian Division in the office of the Secretary of Defense. **Tape 737 (65 min.) $10.50**

Natural Rights: Eric Mack. Dr. Mack discusses the concept of natural rights, their violation, the proper use of force, and the distinctions between force, fraud and coercion. Eric Mack is assistant professor of philosophy at Tulane University and a contributing editor of Reason Magazine. **Tape 738 (44 min.) $9.95.**

The Logic of International Diplomacy: David Friedman. Maintaining that an interventionist foreign policy is extremely dangerous, Friedman argues the case for a return to isolationism. He discusses the present world situation in which there are two major powers, and examines the possibility of an alternative, one-power world. An assistant professor of economics at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, David Friedman is author of *The Machinery of Freedom*. **Tape 739 (40 min.) $9.95.**

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Libertarianism and Feminism. This panel covers such issues as abortion and birth control legislation, government child care programs, discrimination against women via taxes and Social Security, women and business, and government surveillance of feminist organizations. Panelists are Sharon Presley, Kay Augustin, Jenny Graf, Cindy Cisler and Nancy Borman. **Tape 741 (58 min.) $9.95**

Libertarianism and Social Philosophy: Tibor Machan. Libertarians should be concerned with more than politics, contends Tibor Machan. Human decency demands that we take positions on a broad range of social issues. Dr. Machan teaches philosophy at the State University of New York, Fredonia, and is a prolific contributor to *Reason* magazine. **Tape 742 (37 min.) $9.95**

Libertarian Morality: John Hospers. Dr. Hospers focuses on individual sovereignty and personal rights as the keystones of libertarian morality. **Tape 743 (64 min.) $10.50**

Lobbying for Libertarianism. Three seasoned Washington hands explain how to influence government through lobbying. Panelists are Bob Brauer, aide to congressman Ron Dellums; Scootch Pankonin, aide to congressman Steve Symms; and Alan Bock, head of the Libertarian Advocate lobbying group. **Tape 744 (32 min.) $9.95**

Defending the Undefendables: Walter Block. The author of what may be the most controversial book in the history of the libertarian movement explains why he regards prostitutes, slumlords and other social undesirables as "heroes." **Tape 745 (51 min.) $9.95**

Austrian Economics. An introduction to the Austrian School of economics, including a discussion of its achievements and its uniqueness. Panelists are economics professors John Egger, Walter Grinder and Murray Rothbard. **Tape 746 (68 min.) $10.50**

Integrating Psychology and Politics: Peter R. Breggin. "Voluntary servitude" is Dr. Breggin's topic: why people don't break free of their oppressors. The model for oppression, Dr. Breggin contends, is childhood. Director of the Center for the Study of Psychiatry, Peter R. Breggin has won national recognition for his fight against computer psychosurgery. **Tape 747 (63 min.) $10.50**

A Libertarian View of the American Revolution: William Marina. The fundamental issues behind the American Revolution are analyzed by William Marina. Currently the Liberty Fund Research Scholar at the Institute for Humane Studies, William Marina is author of the forthcoming book *The American Revolution as a People's War*. **Tape 748 (48 min.) $9.95**

Benediction: Murray Rothbard. Dr. Rothbard closes the Convention on an optimistic note. He tells why he believes that the Libertarian Party is the party of the future. It is, says Dr. Rothbard, the means by which the power of the state will eventually be rolled back. **Tape 749 (33 min.) $9.95**

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PHILOSOPHY

The Uses of a Liberal Education

By Brand Blanshard

Reviewed by George H. Smith / Open Court Publishing Co., 1975 / $9.95

Brand Blanshard is one of the greatest philosophers of our age. In addition to his magnum opus on epistemology, *The Nature of Thought,* he has written a magnificent trilogy of critical works: *Reason and Goodness, Reason and Analysis,* and the recently published *Reason and Belief.* These works reveal a profound, agile mind of remarkable grace, charm, and benevolence. In short, Brand Blanshard is the model philosopher — a worthy ideal for the intellectual in search of a hero.

The Uses of a Liberal Education — a collection of essays and lectures spanning many years — is less technical than the above books; and for this reason it is also more revealing. For in these pages we see not just Brand Blanshard the philosopher, but Brand Blanshard the man — a man of deep commitment to values and to the impartial pursuit of truth.

These essays revolve around the nature and goals of a liberal education, and they share a patient but firm insistence that the aim of education "is to facilitate understanding in all its forms." The university, therefore, should not concern itself only with the accumulation of knowledge, or with mere technological proficiency in a given field; rather, it should seek the "enlightenment of mind." This is the criterion by which to judge the relative importance of subjects offered by universities; those subjects concerned with fundamental principles are the most essential for a cultivated mind. Moreover, "Every course in the cirriculum should be a course in thinking, in the sense that it should give the student discipline in the sifting of evidence, the drawing of conclusions, and the checking of these conclusions against the facts."

In opposition to many educationalists, Blanshard believes that values are objective — that one's judgment of art, for instance, is not simply an issue of taste — and he believes that a function of education is to instill in students a respect for values. "We are threatened," Blanshard argues, "with a blight of standardlessness, and it is no wonder that students complain of alienation and the meaninglessness of life."

With this emphasis on principles and values, Professor Blanshard quite naturally concludes that "philosophy lies at the heart of education." But this, he emphasizes, does not mean *a* philosophy, in the sense of a specific doctrine. Instead, it pertains to an attitude, a frame of mind — "the philosophic temper, the habit of criticism and self-criticism, the tying of one's self-respect to being reasonable in belief and behavior."

> "In these pages we see not just Brand Blanshard the philosopher, but Brand Blanshard the man — a man of deep commitment to values and to the impartial pursuit of truth."

The reasonable mind thus constitutes the *summon bonum* of a liberal education. Such a mind is concerned primarily with facts, with what is actually the case, and it strives to regulate belief and action by this standard. This reasonableness, Blanshard contends, depends not on information as such, but on a disposition or habit. Reasonableness has to become ingrained in one's character, it has to become an integral aspect of one's way of life. In advocating this "habit of reasonableness" as an essential goal of education, Blanshard follows in the footsteps of the classical philosophers who viewed the intellectual virtues as *habitus,* i.e., as a characteristic manner of functioning in varied circumstances. The reasonable man, in this view, is the man who is inclined, by his "second nature," always to subject his beliefs and actions to careful scrutiny. This does not mean that a reasonable man is without passion; rather, it means that, for a reasonable man, the first passion is truth.

The Uses of a Liberal Education discusses a broad spectrum of other topics, including the idea of a gentleman, conformity, serenity, admiration, courage, machines, and the joy of books. Each of these essays is a gem in itself. But there is another reward to be gleaned from this book, aside from its content. Brand Blanshard is one of the few contemporary philosophers (Walter Kaufmann and Ayn Rand also come to mind) who is able to blend a passion for his subject with a masterful, invigorating style. The result is that *The Uses of a Liberal Education* serves a purpose commonly reserved for fiction: it provides one with emotional and spiritual fuel. This book should be read slowly, savored, and read again — not because it is difficult, but because it is a delight. ■

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Prof. Moss discusses two types of anarchist thought: the socialist variety which requires the elimination of private property, and what he calls "property anarchism"—a distinctly American school. The early theorists of property anarchism are profiled. They include Josiah Warren, J.K.Ingalls, Ezra Heywood, William B. Green, Benjamin R. Tucker, and Lysander Spooner. It is Murray Rothbard, contends Prof. Moss, who has brought about the contemporary revival of interest in property anarchism. He analyzes Dr. Rothbard's theories at length and salutes his contributions. Lawrence Moss is a visiting associate professor at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. He is the editor of *The Economics of Ludwig von Mises—Toward a Critical Reappraisal.*
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The Press

Editorial Pages and Individual Liberty

By K. E. Grubbs, Jr.

I love the image. He was thoroughly immersed, the late founder of my newspaper and a chain of now 23 others, in the writing of a book: how to achieve a fair and a just system of taxation. Finally, month after exasperating month of thinking, studying, corresponding with his favorite economists, he threw up his former subscription seller's hands, possibly tearing off his green eyeshade, and halted the project. There is no such thing, R. C. Hoiles concluded, as a fair and a just tax.

Thus the world was denied probably the only book R. C. Holies thought of writing. But that bit of wisdom with which his writing project was halted has worked its way in a substantial way into an editorial philosophy which for some forty years governed and animated any useful political discussion that took place down in Orange County, California. If the philosophy was curmudgeonly, it was libertarian; if it was cynical about the role of government, it placed an unqualified

> "We thrive on selling an incisive defense of individual liberty."

hope in the potentially of freeborn man.

Now Orange County is being scrutinized as never before. For years we have had to endure, not without some justification, the appellation, "stronghold of right-wing reactionism." If a Stewart Alsop had no other topic to write about, he could always look for something ominous in creeping Orange countyism. And last year, Karl Lamb, a University of California political scientist, interviewed a dozen local families and concluded with a breathtaking want of methodological precision, that *As Orange Goes,* so will go the nation. The book has been taken seriously; its methodology notwithstanding, the conclusion might be accurate. When Tom Hayden passed through my office in his campaign to unhorse John Tunney, he answered my what-brings-you-to-Orange-County? icebreaker with this: "Have you seen this book called *As Orange Goes?*"

This much is true. We have experienced there, under the shadow of Los angeles, the controversies and conundrums the rest of American suburbia is passing through just now: freeways, shopping centers, "community colleges," bond issues and the like. And the taxpayers here were stingy long before you neophyte revolters were.

I needn't recount in these pages how the philosophy, once located in blessed few places: FEE, *The Register* editorial page, and Ayn Rand's apartment, has mushroomed into a vital movement, which its proponents call libertarian. Not long ago I watched a television editorialist animadvert against the state coastal commission, which, in its inimitably counterproductive way, was comprised, she said, of "a gang og unelected bureaucrats." Now, I know, and maybe you know, that five or ten years ago no self-respecting commentator would have allowed such a phrase as "a gang of unelected bureaucrats" to creep into his copy. Too cranky. Too, good Lord, right wing. Too Hoilesian, enough in itself to bring apoplexy to the good offices of the *Columbia Journalism Review.*

Now the most primitive points of the libertarian philosophy are showing up in the strangest places: from some of the posturings of Jerry Brown to the enunications of Pat Moynihan, from the campaign orations of Ronald Reagan to the banquet musings of Edmund Muskie — none of whom has mastered the heart or the mechanics of a free society. Would that they had an ounce of R. C.'s wisdom. Even the Los Angeles *Times,* I understand, has stopped endorsing national candidates, this leading into an investigation of what effects (nil!) editorial endorsements have on most elections. This, again, was something R. C. Hoiles intuited decades ago, not only as good newspaper policy but as sound political philosophy. What presumptuous endorser could have foreseen, in 1974, what he would be getting in a Brown governorship? Certainly not Buddhist economics!

Hollies newspapers, particularly *The Register,* have been accused often of not providing "balance," of not giving play to a variety of opinions. To which we counter that nothing shall be given space if it does not pay its most sincere homage to the truth, that no editorial columnist shall be fiddled with if he or she does not attempt to present the nature of man in its correct condition. There is, as Roy Childs insisted in these pages, a closed question. Oh, there can, and should, be disagreements; for that we publish daily an inordinately huge — a brimming — letters-to-the-editor column.

(Continued on Page 15

How YOU Can Profit From The Coming

PRICE CONTROLS

That President Carter Says He Won't Impose (Maybe)

RICHARD NIXON'S GHOST

President Carter announced on Dec. 3, 1976, that he does not intend to ask Congress to grant him standby authority to impose price and wage controls. Richard Nixon said the same thing in 1970. (Congress granted him this power anyway on August 15, 1970, and Nixon said he didn't want it. On August 15, 1971, Nixon unilaterally declared full-scale price and wage controls.)

Actually, what President Carter really said was that he will not impose controls **unilaterally.** He would not impose them "Unless I had substantial support in the business and labor community for the goals that we set for ourselves..." **We?** Big business, big labor, and big government will be able to impose controls on **us,** the consumers. President Carter calls this "a partnership."

Controls are coming. Count on it.

SHORTAGES ARE COMING

Price and wage controls produce **shortages.** Always. In peacetime and in war, controls produce shortages. The same types of shortage-induced hardships on consumers have appeared **every time** controls have been imposed by governments during the last 4500 years.

Any every time it happens, a select few prosper. **Insiders.** They know the **special techniques** necessary to beat the controls.

Important and little-understood signs now indicate that the government will reimpose controls, despite President Carter's assurances to the contrary. In fact, **his assurances are one of the key signs** (just as Nixon's assurances were in early 1971). This is why insiders are taking steps at this very moment to make **huge profits** during the next wave of controls. They know that controls are politically expedient. They know how intense the public pressures will be for the President to do something. **anything,** to reduce prices. And most important, they know that the vast majority of American citizens will not take the steps necessary to survive and even prosper under controls, simply because **most people wait until it is too late.** By then the insiders will have made their killing, and the public will have been wiped out. It happens every time.

THE INSIDERS' STRATEGY

There are tricks to the insiders' trade. I have learned many of them. But the most important single advantage they have over the rest of the public is **a unique way of interpreting the economic trends.** It lets them act in advance to **beat the markets.** They have developed a "weird" slant on economic life — weird only in a world without controls — that becomes the **absolutely indispensable requirement** for personal prosperity under price controls.

YOU CAN MASTER THIS "WEIRD" SYSTEM OF MAKING MONEY

Some people know it instinctively. For them it's easy. Most of us don't have it automatically. I had to learn it through many years of study — in college, in graduate school, and in government research. I earned a doctorate, having specialized in economic history, yet I can honestly say that in school my professors never mentioned this system of forecasting. Neither did the hundreds of books they assigned. If I hadn't done extensive research on my own, I would never have discovered the basic techniques that serve as ***economic escape hatches.*** Once controls are imposed, the government will begin to close off these escape hatches. You had better know them **in advance.**

The longer the controls stay on, the less you can do, legally, to insure your family's survival. Yet there are steps you can take today — legal for the moment — that may enable you to be **calling the shots** within a year after controls are imposed.

SIX DEADLY ASSUMPTIONS THAT COULD WIPE YOU OUT

Have you made one or more of these **six common assumptions,** each of which is questionable and **potentially disastrous?**

"My pension can actually be paid off"

"The Social Security System is solvent"

"The Federal Government guarantees the present value of my bank account"

"A depression is impossible today"

"My guaranteed annuity is safe"

"The government will control inflation"

I'll show you where to begin. The details are in my book. ***How You Can Profit from the Coming Price Controls.***

The big boys have already begun. They're betting that the rest of us won't act in time. Frankly, they're probably correct. **Most people won't act in time.** They never do. But **you** can. (I'm not saying you will. I'm saying you **can.** For the moment.)

YOU CAN BEAT THE CONTROLS

How You Can Profit from the Coming Price Controls tells you **why** controls are coming, what **signs** are used by insiders to serve as "early warning indicators," **what to do** when these signs appear (and some of them are already here), and what to do immediately **after** controls are imposed.

You don't need a college degree to learn these techniques. I think a college education can actually hinder many people from mastering these techniques. There are a lot of so-called geniuses who will lose their shirts under price controls, and some of them will have Ph.D's in economics.

If you **master these techniques,** and if you have the dedication to apply them, you can join the ranks of the insiders. Some of you will learn them far better than I have. That's the goal of every serious teacher: to make his students smarter than he is. Or in this case, **richer.**

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Time is running out. This is not simply an advertising pitch. The day after controls are imposed, magazines and newspapers may refuse to run ads for information showing people how to beat the controls. A year later, it could eastly be **illegal** to run such ads. After all, what good are the controls, from the bureaucrats' point of view, if the public knows how to beat them? And that's precisely what you learn in ***How You Can Profit from the Coming Price Controls.***

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You may think you don't need my book right now. **But when you decide that you really need my book, will you be able to locate a copy?**

This book costs $10. Two years after controls go on, the **lack** of the information I'm offering could cost you ten times that much. It could cost you everything.

He who hesitates, the proverb says, is lost. A word to the wise is sufficient.

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Up From Communism:

Conservative Odysseys in American Intellectual History

By John P. Diggins

Reviewed by Leonard Liggio / Harper and Row, 1975 / $20.00

"The final struggle will be between the communist and the ex-communist." Ignazio Silone's famous words introduce John P. Diggins' "intellectual history of the 'final struggle' in America." Diggins believes that before we can understand the Cold War and the New American Right which has its roots in the Cold War, it is necessary to understand "ex-communism." "The rise of the New American Right out of the ashes of the Old American Left was one of the great political surprises of our time," Diggins writes. This evolution of the New Right from its political ancestor, the Old Left, is one of the most important events in contemporary intellectual history, yet it has received practically no attention from scholars. *Up From Communism* unfortunately only scratches the surface of the subject, but still, it makes for an important beginning.

Before the Old Left itself emerged in America, in reaction to World War I and the Soviet Revolution, there was an Original Left that was, as Diggins describes it, anarcho-libertarian, and which was at least decentralist in orientation when it was not that developed. One of the failures of Diggins is that he does not see the difference between those who were part of that tradition, such as Max Eastman and John Dos Passos, and those whom he studies who only knew the Old Left. But those were two quite unique universes.

> "Communist factions and battle lines became the basic categories within which liberat intellectuals operated."

Woodrow Wilson's repression during World War I split apart the popular base from the Original Left's intellectuals, and this popular base then moved to adopt an external substitute in the Soviet Revolution and the Soviet Communists' view of American politics. The implications of this were enormous when, in the 1930s, the Communist Party adopted New Deal politics in domestic and foreign policies, and became the tail of New Deal liberalism. With that, communism, which had formerly been isolated from the mainstream of American intellectual life, became the reference point for New Deal liberalism. Communist factions and battle lines became the basic categories within which liberal intellectuals operated. As a result, the radicalism which was to the left of New Deal-Communist liberalism was excluded from consideration by the latter's control over the media.

Those radicals, who stemmed from the Original Left in America's heartlands, attacked the collectivism and centralization of the New Deal liberals. They became the mass base for the Old Right, which emerged in opposition to the New Deal. When the New Deal became defined by the liberals and Communists as "left," the media naturally called the anticollectivist radicals "right." In fact, the liberal control over the media was so great that not only was the radical Old Right excluded from it, a New Right drawn from a dissenting wing of the Old Left was substituted for it, as well. This can be seen most clearly in the case of *National Review* for, as Diggins writes, "about half of *National Review's* editorial board was . . . Stalin's gift to the American Right." Stalin was said to have made a "revolution in one country," but his meddling in foreign Communist parties created ex-Communists who in America became his "Greek gift" to the American opponents of liberal corporatism.

One of the most memorable points in Diggins' book is his recounting of the incident of about 1930, when the leadership of American communism attending a Comintern meeting in Moscow were denounced by Stalin for holding that the revolutionary crisis in America was not immediate. After the denunciation, Stalin walked past the Americans and held out his hand to Edward Welsh, an American black. Welsh asked loudly: "What the hell does this guy want?" and would not shake hands with Stalin. The spirit of America's Original Left is caught in that episode. One further step was necessary to recapture that Original Left: asking why an American radical would be seeking advice in any place but America.

Diggins concentrates on Max Eastman, John Dos Passos, Will Herberg and James Burnham. In opening the book, I started reading part three, "To the *National Review,*" since the earlier chapter headings did not connect with "right" in my mind. Later, I asked "why am I reading about these debates about communism when I wanted to read about the 'right'?" Diggins presents these debates with clarity and intelligibility, and explains the roots of the New Right in these issues.

Max Eastman was an important figure in the Original Left, "the anarcho-libertarian Left of the pre-World War I years." Eastman's masterful critique of the Hegelian dimension in Marxism is lucidly presented by Diggins, and it alone was worth the price of the book. Eastman was the "first American to grasp the connection between Hegel and Marx [and] went on not to reaffirm it but to repudiate it." Sidney Hook, "tempted to see meaning, as well as method, in the dialectic," defended Hegelianism. Eastman said: "We have to choose between Marxism as a Hegelian philosophy, and Marxism as a science which is capable of explaining such a philosophy." Eastman noted the important distinction between Marx, historical materialism, and modern socialism based on Engles' dialectical materialism.

Eastman saw Lenin as the Marxist who repudiated Hegelian Marxism, but with Lenin's death, he sided with Trotsky, claiming that in America, "I was the Left Opposition." The opposition of communists to Stalinism created a new central category in the intellectual debates of the period. "To the Old Left in general and to Eastman, Hook and Burnham in particular, the problem of understanding Stalinism became almost the problem of understanding history itself." All history's validity "was manifested in the 'contradictions' of the Soviet bureaucracy. Many of the intellectual origins of what came to be called, misleadingly, I believe, 'anticommunism,' lie in this philosophical debate over the nature of Stalinism." It is important to note that what passed for "anticommunism" during this period was actually only "anti-Stalinism," and the cold warrior positions of these "anti-Communists" had little to do with any *real* opposition to collectivism. Those who opposed communism and collectivism on principle, the individualists and isolationists of the Old Right, were at the same time opponents of militarism, interventionism and the Cold War. They opposed Stalin and the domestic system of the Soviet Union, but saw that war would actually prove a far greater threat to American liberties than anything happening inside the Soviet Union.

John Dos Passos, "the novelist-historian of anarcho-individualist sensibilities," never joined a Communist group, and thus had very different reactions to world events than those who did. Unfortunately, Diggins does not bring this out enough. He indicates that Dos Passos, unlike the other radicals who became conservatives, never changed his views: he was never a Communist, he was always an anarchist. Dos Passos had been influenced by the Original American Left before American entry into World War I, and emerged from that crusade to make the world safe for democracy holding "war horrifying, the state a monstrous fraud, and society the spectacle of oppressed humanity. Everywhere he saw power beating down upon the individual; nowhere could he find freedom."

Dos Passos opposition to New Deal liberalism was rooted in his view that no radicalism would be successful unless rooted in the productive middle-class majority. He advocated a cooperative commonwealth against the New Deal, of which he wrote Edmund Wilson: "The upshot of it is that you and me and the Forgotten Man are going to get fucked plenty." In opposition to the Popular Front and the Communist party's support of New Deal war policies, he turned to the libertarian tradition in American history, exponents of "total statelessness": Roger Williams, Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson. His novels, exploring the concept of the "two nations" in Ameica, caused Jean-Paul Sartre to say that he regarded "Dos Passos as the greatest writer of our time." Diggins finds Dos Passos' later works less important. Yet, Jay Pignatelli in *Chosen Country* (1951) and Jasper Milliron in *Midcentury* are strong characters, Milliron representing the continuity of commitment to productivity through technological innovation against the financial "saboteurs" of productivity whose heroism is summed up in writing off loses through tax loopholes and who could contribute more by private games of Monopoly.

A major deficiency of the Diggins book is an absence of discussion of Dos Passos' strong activity against the Cold War in the late 1940s and early 1950s. His debate with Edmund Wilson over the latter's *Cold War and the Income Tax* deserved much more discussion. Dos Passos' disappointment with the Silent Generation of the 1950s made him negative toward youth, and prevented him from seeing that "the New Left was protesting, in addition to the Vietnam War, the very abuses of power that he had raged against his entire life . . . . He seemed unaware that the Students for a Democratic Society had openly denounced authoritarian communist regimes in Eastern Europe." When some of the New Left became Marxian, he observed that a "Left that is really new might be worth having." Diggins concludes: "Dos Passos' libertarian and Buckley's authoritarian conservatism added one more ingredient to the mesalliance of the intellectual Right in America."

Will Herberg viewed the New Deal as beneficial to monopoly corporatism, and criticized the manipulative role of the Communists in integrating labor into liberal corporatism. He flayed the Communists "for supporting Roosevelt and failing to see the threat of fascism in the expansion of executive power." Herberg withdrew into religious analysis, and focused his attacks on Pelagianism with its free will and its positive attitude toward man.

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Most interesting were the views of Herberg and Eastman toward Joseph McCarthy. Eastman saw the origins of McCarthyism in the New Deal policies leading to World War II and Roosevelt's use of intelligence operations against isolationists. Eastman said: "'If it were Nazism, instead of Communism, that was being attacked in this crude way, I doubt if the majority of them would utter a peep against it—in fact, they didn't utter a peep when Roosevelt and Francis Biddle staged the trial for conspiracy of the 40-odd people who had never seen each other or communicated with each other until they came into the court room—an amalgam after the best Stalinist and Hitlerite models." McCarthyism was directed against domestic liberals, and the major part of the liberal attack on McCarthyism was that it undermined the anti-communism of the Cold War run by the liberals. Herberg saw that McCarthyism was a creation of the liberals who were bankrupt in their own New Deal policies, and needed a rallying point, in this case, a defensive one. Their "compulsive" attacks on McCarthy gave him publicity and political power. "Herberg was one of the first American writers to interpret McCarthyism as a threat from the Left, as the demagogy of mass politics."

especially his Trotskyism. A similar view has been presented by James Gilbert in his essay in *A New History of Leviathan*. Burnham disagreed with Churchill, De Gaulle, Taft and Lippmann that traditional Russian security moves in Eastern Europe could be met with conservative diplomacy. To his fellow ex-Communists, Burnham declared: "In relation to the struggle against communism, the Ameican businessman is too ignorant, too greedy, too reactionary, and, in a certain sense, too cowardly."

Diggins notes a dillema: "What to call oneself posed an awkward problem for the Old Left-New Right intellectuals." The ex-Communists carried over a great deal of the collectivism of the Old Left. It had been Marxism and the failure of the Soviet Union to be collectivist that repelled them from Stalin. Conservatism was attractive because it shared many of the collectivist values of communism. For many conservatives, the free market was seen as destructive of the timeless continuity and unity of the community which they treasured. The New Conservatism of the ex-Communists had no connection with the values of the Old Right: the individualism, isolationism, decentralism, unmonopolized market of Main Street. The Old Right was impenetrable to the chic of liberal corporatism. The world of Dostoevski, Trotsky, Tom Kahn and Irving Kristol was not the world of Mark Twain, Bob LaFollette, Mario Savio and Prairie neo-isolationists. It is important to note that none of the ex-Communists were active in the struggle of isolationists in 1941 for noninterventionism in World War II. The struggle against corporate liberalism's interventionism was the major defining effort of the Old Right. It was not a recruiting ground for *National Review* comparable to the Communist factions.

When a split developed among the ex-Old Left in the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the right-wing rallied around William Buckley's project to found *National Review*. Diggins discusses Buckley's breaks with Objectivists, the anarchism of Murray Rothbard and the *New Individualist*

(Continued on page 4)

> "... war horrifying, the state a monstrous fraud, and society the spectacle of oppressed humanity. Everywhere he saw power beating down upon the individual; nowhere could he find freedom."

Along with Sidney Hook and Max Scachtman, James Burnham was associated with Trotskyism. Later, studying bureaucratic collectivism, Burnham saw World War II as a "major social revolution" in which the war was subordinate to the development of managerial take-over by the state of society's functions. Burnham saw that the "professional democrats" were the gravediggers of democracy. Their demand for intervention in modern war was the primary threat to democracy with its extension of state regimentation and totalitarianism. To defeat Hitler, liberals would defeat American democracy. Diggins asks of Burnham's analysis: "Appeasement? Isolationism? Pacifism? Revolutionary defeatism?" Burnham's analysis started with the still incomplete central debate on "Who governs?" He wrote an exposition of the sociological ideas of the important European critics of the myths of democratic government and the realities of the methods by which ruling hierarchies maintain their authority — Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto, Roberto Michels, and Georg Sorel.

Working in intelligence during World War II, James Burnham viewed the Cold War as starting in April, 1944, over Greece, and his writings became a basis for the Truman Doctrine. He defended the Truman Doctrine against isolationist critics. The isolationist Harry Elmer Barnes went further: "This is probably the most dangerous and 'un-American' book and, at the same time, in its grim way, the leading joke book of the year." Not understanding that the Cold War was the result of liberal corporatist needs for permanent war to regiment society, his calls for a universal imperialism for "the American Empire" did not find the liberal corporatists attempting the destruction of the Soviet Union. Diggins sees Burnham's shift from his early 1940s conservatism to cold warrior as a reassertion of his Marxism,

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Decontrolling Money

By Richard Ebeling

For the past thirty years Austrian economist Friedrich von Hayek has devoted the major part of his time to investigations of the political and philosophical foundations of the free society. In his 1960 treatise, *The Constitution of Liberty,* he had warned of the dangerous nature of inflationary monetary policies which "in the long run, must destroy the foundations of a free society." But regardless of how disruptive government control of money had been, Hayek still believed that not only was a separation of money and the State "politically impracticable today but would probably be undesirable if it were possible."

With his magnum opus, *Law, Legislation and Liberty,* almost completed, Professor Hayek is now once again returning to the problems of monetary theory and policy with which he began his career over fifty years ago. In early 1976, he published a short pamphlet on *Choice in Currency* in which he declared that government monopoly over money has become so harmful that the only "effective check against the abuse of money by government" would be "if people were free to refuse any money they distrusted and to prefer money in which they had confidence...let us deprive governments [or their monetary authorities] of all power to protect their money against competition."

> "When one studies the history of money,' says Hayek, 'one cannot help wondering why people have put up for so long with governments exercising a power regularly used to exploit and defraud them."

Now, in a short book, Professor Hayek elaborates on how competitive currencies would work and how we could bring about a *Denationalization of Money.* "When one studies the history of money," says Hayek, "one cannot help wondering why people have put up for so long with governments exercising a power over 2,000 years that was regularly used to exploit and defraud them." Under various myths, such as the need for legal tender laws, the State has usurped a power that has enabled it to debase the medium of exchange for its own political coffers or to benefit other vested interests that have allied themselves with governmental activities. And when private traders and merchants have attempted to establish free market alternatives "absolutism soon suppressed all such efforts to create a non-governmental currency. Instead, it protected the rise of banks issuing notes in terms of the official government money."

By competing currencies Professor Hayek does not mean merely a system of private and independent banks issuing gold and silver coins or paper notes representing fixed quantities of gold and silver. Rather, he contemplates a system of alternative currencies in which each issuing bank would promise and attempt to keep the value of its currency constant through an expansion or contraction of its money in circulation, as required. The criteria for what type of action would be called for in any particular situation, would be an index number of commodity prices representing a market basket "of widely traded products such as raw materials, agricultural foodstuffs and certain standardised semi-finished industrial products." They have the advantage of being "traded on regular markets, their prices are promptly reported and, at least with raw materials, are particularly sensitive and would therefore make it possible by early action to forstall tendencies towards general price movements." For when the index began to rise it would be a signal for that bank to withdraw its currency from circulation and when the index began to fall to increase the quantity of its currency outstanding. Not every region or bank would choose to use the same index of goods because different areas may find different commodities relevant to its production and consumption patterns. In fact, in some communities the use of different indexes may overlap, resulting in the competing currencies expanding and contracting independently of each other.

Why would a currency of stable value be desired by the public? Because, says Hayek, the requirements for economic calculation and the desire for less uncertainty involving contracts for deferred payments would probably make this the most preferred type of medium of exchange. And the possible utilization of alternative competing monies available on the market would act as a restraint on reckless monetary expansion on the party of any bank. For the expansionist bank would soon find its money depreciated in relation to other market currencies. Either the bank would have to return to a more conservative policy or face repudiation on the part of the public. "This is the process by which the unreliable currencies would gradually all be eliminated."

How would these alternative private monies come into circulation in the first place? Hayek suggests that if he were in charge of a bank, "I would announce the issue of non-interest bearing certificates or notes, and the readiness to open current cheque accounts, in terms of a unit with a distinct registered trade mark name such as 'ducat.' The only legal obligation I would assume would be to redeem these notes and deposits on demand with, at the option of the holder, either 5 Swiss francs or 5 D-marks or 2 dollars per ducat. This redemption value would however be intended only as a floor below which the value of the unit could not fall because I would announce at the same time my intention to regulate the quantity of the ducats so as to keep their...purchasing power as nearly as possible constant."

The advantage of using a money in exchange relationships is that it not only makes existing exchange activities run that much more smoothly, but, in fact, enables many other possible exchanges to come into existence that would not have under a system of barter. Indeed, as a society moves from a state of barter to one that uses several mediums of exchange to, finally, a situation in which only one or two monies are utilized, the intensity and complexity of division of labor and production increases. But, if this is true, it should also imply that as a monetary system disintegrates and a variety of mediums of exchange again start to appear, it should effect the ability of the economic system to function at its previous level of coordination. Since the demise of the Gold Standard, the Gold-Exchange Standard and, most recently, the Dollar Standard, world trade has had to function not with one or two monies, but more and more with as many monies as there are nation-states. Transfers of capital and resources becomes that much more difficult as the number of exchange rates fluctuating between national currencies increases. And to this extent efficient resource allocation is hindered.

It would seem, then, that what is required is not more and different monies, but less. But, Professor Hayek's proposal would see the proliferation of currencies. Competing currencies using various indexes to determine their "stable" values, all having their exchange rates fluctuating between each other, cannot be considered a situation conducive to economic trade and stability. In fact, instead of only having national currencies to contend with, market participants would soon find themselves burdened with fluctuating monies in the states and provinces, cities and towns and even on the same city block.

Yet, even if we are willing to concede the possibility of continued efficient and complex trade patterns under competing currencies, as Professor Hayek suggests could occur through the use of hand calculators and constant up-dated reports on radio and in newspapers about what the exchange rates are between currencies at any one moment, we must still wonder about the process that would even result in the emergence of these competing mediums of exchange.

As Hayek points out, "During the Middle Ages... the superstition arose that it was the act of government that conferred the value upon the money...In the early years of this century the medieval doctrine was revived by the German Professor G. F. Knapp..." in his book *The State Theory of Money.* And, as Hayek continues, "It is probably impossible for pieces of paper or other tokens of a material itself of no significant market value to come to be gradually accepted and held as money unless they represent a claim on some valuable object...such as their convertibility into another kind of money."

> "Under various myths, such as the need for legal tender laws... the State has usurped a power that has enabled it to debase the medium of exchange for its own political coffers...or to benefit other vested interests that have allied themselves with governmental activities."

Professor Hayek, it would seem, believes that competing currencies would have the ability to be accepted as money because they would, at least initially, be redeemable in stipulated quantities of already existing monies such as francs, marks or dollars. But what is making the dollar, or franc or pound in decreased demand on the part of market participants in the first place is the fact that these mediums of exchange are loosing their "moneyness." They are monies that are diminishing in what Carl Menger called their "saleability" in exchange relationships. What market participants are then searching for is another commodity whose market value is not depreciating, or at least not expected to depreciate as

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rapidly or over as an extended period, as the exchange medium they had previously utilized. It seems, at the least, questionable whether individuals would show much willingness to accept a new money whose own *present* value is only represented by a promised intention to keep its *future* value stable according to a designated index number and whose redeemability is in initially fixed quantities of a money (or monies) from which individuals are trying to "flee." It is because market participants no longer have confidence in existing currencies that there occurs the flight into "real goods" or into commodities that demonstrate that "saleability" in exchange relationships, e.g., gold, silver, etc.

But the greatest weakness of Professor Hayek's proposal is the suggested goal of monetary manipulation on the part of the private banks so as to keep the value of their currencies stable. Though he admits that, "Strictly speaking, in a scientific sense, there is no such thing as a perfectly stable value of money—or of anything else," and though he reminds the reader that he was one of the first to point out that the "additions to the quantity of money that in a growing economy are necessary to secure a *stable* price level may cause an excess of investment over savings," he now believes it to be a "problem of minor practical significance."

> "He contemplates a system of alternative currencies in which each issuing bank would promise and attempt to keep the value of its currency constant through an expansion or contraction of its money in circulation, as required."

Professor Hayek's admission of the shortcomings as well as impossibility of stabilizing the value of money and his then proceeding to advocate such a program anyway, reminds one of the innumerable authors of Macroeconomic textbooks who warn the reader in the introduction of the pitfalls and dangers when talking about Price Levels and Aggregates, but then proceed to use and manipulate them throughout the rest of the book as if they were real entities.

For in fact the Price Level and Stable Money are purely statistical abstractions. There is only the exchange ratios between money on one side and any other good for which it might be traded on the other. And for any individual the only "value of money" that will matter pertains to the particular products or services he may purchase. And since hardly any two individuals purchase exactly the same goods, in strictness, the "purchasing power of money" is different for every market participant.

But even beyond the question of what a "stable value of money" would involve definitionally, the more important issue is that any attempt to stabilize a "general level of prices," regardless of what market-basket of goods is used for indexing purposes, must result in serious destabilizing influences on productive activities throughout the economy.

In a market economy production decisions are never decided by the changes occurring in a "general price level" or in the "general" value of the monetary unit. Rather, it will be the movement of relative prices and profits that will act as guide for directing economic activities. And furthermore, it will only be a particular number of these relative prices that will act as signals to inform producers whether any specific line of production should be expanded or contracted or what combinations of resources to use in producing the product.

For instance, an increase in productivity will mean that a given volume of resources will now be able to produce a larger output. The price of the product will tend to fall. The consumer would now be in the position to purchase a given or increased quantity of the product at a lower price. How the decrease in price will influence the relative profitability of the firm or industry experiencing this greater productivity will depend on how responsive demand is to the change in price. If the proportional increase in quantity demanded of the product is greater than the proportional decrease in price (i.e., demand is elastic), the firm may not only find it still profitable to employ the same amount of economic resources as before the fall in price, but may even find it profitable to hire an increased amount of labor and capital. If, on the other hand, the change in quantity demanded is less than the proportional change in price (i.e., demand is inelastic), then it would probably be impossible for the firm to continue to employ the same volume of resources and cover the costs of production at the lower price. The new cost-price relationship, in this latter case, would act as a signal that a certain amount of the factors of production should be freed from their present occupation and be shifted to where they can more profitably be utilized. And it would only be by an appropriate movement of these various prices for the final product as well as for the factors of production that a successful transfer of resources to reflect ultimate consumer demand could be guaranteed.

Now, in a progressing economy there will develop a tendency for capital accumulation and productivity increases to result in a decrease in prices, with the price changes occurring in the various industries at different times and to different degrees. This process would reflect itself in a falling "price level" as measured by the chosen index of commodity prices.

If this "deflation" in the "price level" is considered appropriate grounds for an increase of the money in circulation, then certain destabilizing influences are set to work in the economy. The monetary expansion becomes reflected as higher money prices and profits in various sectors of the economy. Those industries and firms in which demand was found to be elastic under conditions of increased productivity will now be influenced by the higher money prices and profits in hiring a greater amount of labor and capital than would have seemed profitable if the price of its product had been allowed to fall. And if the industry or firm is one in which demand was found to be inelastic with increasing productivity, the higher money prices induced by the monetary expansion will influence the producers of this product to keep employed a greater amount of labor and capital than is warranted by the consumer demand preferences.

> "...any attempt to stabilize a "general level of prices," ...must result in serious destabilizing influences on productive activities... throughout the economy."

If in the face of continuing increases in productivity, the monetary expansion becomes a systematic one so as to preserve a "price level" and a "stable" value of money and if the monetary increases continue to enter the economy in a particular manner, then a lop-sided overproduction will begin to develop. The malinvestments and misdirections of resources induced by the monetary expansion will eventually materialize in the form of a depression when the factors of production spend their higher money incomes over time in a manner reflecting the true consumer demands for the alternative market products.

> "Instead of only having national currencies to contend with, market participants would soon find themselves burdened with fluctuating monies in the states and provinces, cities and towns and even on the same city block."

A system of competing currencies of the type Professor Hayek suggests will only tend to magnify these monetary disturbances. For if a single monetary authority within a national area can disturb the productive activities of an economy, a multitude of currencies each increasing and decreasing their monies in circulation as guided by their respective indexes, must intensify the number of faulty market price signals that producers will be influenced by in directing production.

The preceding critical remarks should not be taken as a criticism of all of Professor Hayek's arguments in the book. Insightful analysis is sprinkled throughout the volume. For instance, Hayek discusses the "cash balance" approach to monetary phenomena which "enables us not merely to explain the ultimate effect of changes in 'the' quantity of money on 'the' general price level, but also to account for the process by which changes in the supplies of various kinds of money will successively affect different prices." He then contrasts it with the more popular "velocity of circulation" approach which, through various statistical techniques, suggests "a simple connection between 'the' quantity of money and 'the' price level" which leads to "the erroneous belief that monetary changes affect only the *general* level of prices." While the real harm of monetary increases "is due to the *differential* effect on different prices, which change successively in a very irregular order and to a very different degree, so that as a result the whole structure of relative prices becomes distorted and misguides production into wrong directions."

Professor Hayek also declares that "we should have learned that monetary policy is much more likely to be a cause than a cure of depressions." And that if money had been allowed to be part of the market process instead of the political process "free enterprise would have been both able to provide a money securing stability and that striving for individual gain would have driven private financial institutions to do so if they had been permitted."

It is certainly heartening that professor Hayek has become more Libertarian in *Denationalization of Money* with his advocacy of placing monetary matters in the marketplace. Its unfortunate that he seems somewhat less "Austrian" when it comes to his analysis of how a free market money should operate. ■

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Washington Watch
By E. Scott Royce

Conscription — When President Carter's cabinet and cabinet-level appointments were made public, some groups and publications on the political left expressed grave reservations (see, for instance, "Hail, Hail, The Gang's All Here," *The Progressive,* February 1977, pp. 5-6). Their concern, based on the LBJ-era Vitenam-related records of such persons, was particularly acute in relation to nominees like Harold Brown, Mr. Carter's selection to run the massive Department of "Defense" (DOD).

Increasing evidence indicates that such critics were eminently correct. Secretary Brown has endorsed enactment of legislation that would provide for a standby draft to be implemented in "emergency" situations. Democratic conservative Senators Stennis (Miss.) and Nunn (Ga.) have been promoting such legislation, which has the endorsement of DOD.

Blocking passage of any such attempt to ease back into conscription should be a primary legislative goal for libertarians in 1977.

OSHA — The U.S. District Court for Idaho delivered the nation a New Year's surprise when it ruled on December 30 that the warrantless, no-warning inspections of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) are unconstitutional. Supreme Court Justice Rehnquist later issued a ruling which allowed OSHA to continue such inspections outside Idaho, but the district court decision boosted the spirits of anit-OSHA businessmen and congressmen. Chances for passage are dim at best, but Republican Reps. Symms and Hansen (Idaho) and Rousselot (Calif.) have again introduced legislation (H.R. 676) to repeal the Occupational Safety and Health Act. A variety of reform measures have also been put in the hopper, including a measure by Rep. Robinson (R-Va.) to award attorney fees to employers who successfully contest OSHA citations.

Public Financing — Last December, before the new 95th Congress had even begun to meet and ponder the country's problems, a bipartisan group of liberal members led by Rep. Udall (D-Ariz.) announced its intention to promote legislation to institute public financing of congressional races. The House Administration Committee reportedly intends to hold hearings on the present Federal Election Campaign Act and proposed amendments to it by early spring. Udall and company are spoiling for a fight, but they may yet have trouble extending the act's coverage. A Common Cause survey of the House released in mid-December revealed only 181 members willing to go on record in favor of such funding for congressional general election races — 46 fewer than had publicly supported it in the 1974 poll.

Along similar lines, Rep. Rodino (D-N.J.) and Sen. Kennedy (D-Mass.) are sponsoring bills (h.R. 66, S. 270) to authorize federal payments to individuals and "public interest groups" for their involvement in the federal administrative and rulemaking process.

Speaking of FDR, Democratic Reps. Duncan (Ore.) and Meeds (Wash.) are among those introducing legislation (H.R. 352, H.R. 30) to establish a Young Adult Conservation Corps modeled on the CCC of the 1930s.

Also returning essentially unchanged for consideration this year is the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act. Still calling for extensive national economic planning and massive federal expenditures, the measure bears the same bill numbers (H.R. 50, S. 50) as in the 94th Congress.

Foreign Trade — Rep. Bingham (D-N.Y.) introduced legislation January 10 to repeal section 5 (b) of the Trading With the Enemy Act. It was this particular portion of the U.S. statutes that President Ford employed to extend export controls when the Export Administration Act accidentally lapsed in 1976. Section 5 (b) has been utilized to bar commerce with nations like Cuba and Vietnam. It also provided authority, Bingham noted, "for actions as diverse as the 'bank holiday' of 1933, . . . *(the)* alien property freeze and consumer credit controls during World War II, and foreign direct investment controls in 1968."

Expiring Legislation — Among the major laws which, unless renewed, will give up the ghost during 1977, are the Clean Air Act of 1970, the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1972, tax cuts provided for in the 1976 omnibus tax revision law, the farm program established in 1973, the food stamp program authorization, foreign military and economic assistance laws, and much of the federal housing and mortgage credit program.

Tax Indexing — On January 1 the Congressional Joint Economic Committee released a staff study which concluded that recovery from the 1974-75 recession was slowed because the progressive income tax forced people into increasingly higher tax brackets during a period when their real incomes were declining under inflationary pressure. The study — and a growing number of congressmen, including Rep. Coughlin (R-Pa.) — concluded that what is needed is "tax indexing," that is, requiring regular adjustment of the tax rate to reflect changes in the cost of living.

Gun Control — Kudos to Republican Sens. McClure (Ida.) and goldwater (Ariz.), who are sponsoring legislation (S. 38) to repeal the 1968 gun control act. Rep Ashbrook (R-Ohio) has introduced a similar bill (H.R. 156) in the House.

Narcotics Regulation — The National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML) is optimistic that Congress may decriminalize use of "pot" during 1977. Administration figures like Carter administration figures like Carter advisor Dr Peter Bourne favor such a move; and New York's Rep. Koch (D) and Sen. Javits (R), NORML reports, "have promised an all out fight for decriminalization in Congress." Running counter to the trend, Rep. Wolff (D-N.Y.), however, favors recreation of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control that he chaired during 1976.

Foreign Aid — During debate on foreign assistance legislation this year, Congress will be squarely confronted with the question of cutting off aid to various governments which pursue repressive domestic policies. Key targets are expected to be Argentina, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Peru, and the Phillippines.

Spending — Carrying on the grand tradition of former Rep. H. R. Gross, whom he succeeded, Rep. Grassley (R-Iowa) has introduced H.R. 144, which calls for a balanced federal budget "except in time of war or grave national emergency" and for "systematic reduction" of the national debt. Grassley has also led the fight in the House againt congressional pay raises.

(Continued on page 16)

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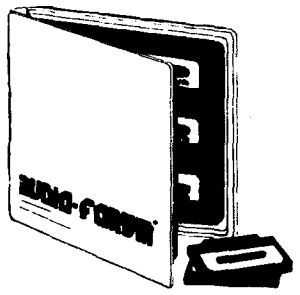

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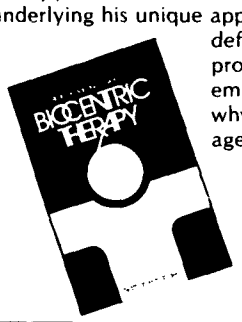

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Grubbs *(Continued from page 9)*

Ours is a proud philosophic tradition, one not swayed by the political winds left or right. *The Register* was one of the only newspaper to editorialize against the incarceration of Japanese-Americans during World War II. Three and four decades ago we opposed compulsory schooling; now nearly every respectable intellectual, avantz garde or traditionalist, questions it. Even then we knew the root causes of inflation: government deficit spending catalyzing the printing of official currency. We were prophetic about that.

And we have tried as best we can to stay consistent. You will not find us fussing about civil liberties without requiring economic liberties: if a revolutionist professor should be allowed to speak, and he should, so too should a corporate mogul not have to be treated inquisitorially because he allegedly contributed to air pollution. If we oppose plebiscitory curbs on nuclear power because we feel a need to explore and develop a variety of energy sources, so too will we oppose this demagogic divestitute of the oil companies. So too will we call for the removal of obstructions to the capital market so that the necessary exploration can be done.

If we agree that individuals should have the right to possess marijuana and heroin, so too will we proclaim the right to possess vitamins. If doctors and lawyers can advertise, so too do storefront owners have the right to erect signs 25 feet high instead of the prescribed 19.5 or whatever. And if we seriously believe in promoting global peace, then we will ask that trade restrictions and tariffs, so stultifyingly crisscrossing the globe, be lifted so that humankind can get on with interacting. Finally, we campaign against political imprisonment and torture, which is epidemic these days, and which is the naked and logical extension of political interference in individual lives. We exult that a Solzhenitsyn performs on the planet to give us spiritual ballast.

In writing those tirades, those complaints and those exultations, we try to do so intelligently and forthrightly. Nothing renders an editorial page more useless, and more forgotten, than so-called opinions nullified with an oh-so-conscientious "on the other hand" clause worked into every paragraph; or than the crosscurrents of a gaggle of analyst-journalists honking what Malcolm Muggeridge calls their "intimations of bogus expertise" for all the world to dull its collective mind. Some newspapers succeed, after a fashion, with such pish-posh. We thrive on selling an incisive defense of individual liberty.

And there are shades of disagreement among our libertarian writers; but their objective is to promote individual freedom. No liberal obfuscationists for us. Our theory: there is small interest in explaining, say, the nuances of the Kissinger-to-Vance transition; both Henry and Cy are career foreign service bureaucrats, likely to *Mayaguez* it one day, turn over the Canal to Torrijos the next. To daily readers, it all becomes a blur, just politics. What matters is the enlargement of their liberties. Our surveys indicate an extraordinarily high editorial-page readership: people whose yearnings, however inchoate, are for protections against the impersonal state.

It is important *to say we count as* proof of our thriving the numerous detractors. I close, not with something *more ringing and eloquent, such as* announcing my own lifelong goal, my own lost cause: to prove Soren Kierkegaard wrong in his prophecy that the daily press would prove Christianity's strongest enemy. Kierkegaard was a better prophet than I, at least as good as R. C. Hollies, so I'll not dwell on it. Instead I quote a recent letter to the editor:

"Gentlemen: . . . Without doubt nor qualifications, I believe that I can unequivocally state that your crummy newspaper is the most biased, inaccurate, right wing reactionary, misleading rag of slanderous journalism I have ever had the unfortunate experience of reading . . . All your cruddy rag does is to pontificate about the evil ways of the political system and its participants in a self-righteous manner . . . Rarely does your editorial page discuss a problem and then offer intelligent solutions. Rather, the entire thrust of the editorial page is to bitch, complain, and whine about complex problems without ever offering solutions or giving a deserving politician or bureaucrat a pat on the back for a job well done when they have attempted to address problems."

I believe our correspondent to be exactly right, not that we are slanderous, right wing, inaccurate (we are, of course, on our editorial pages, biased) and so on; but that we do carp and complain seemingly without end, and that, most cruddily of all, there is entirely too much political perfidy to rail against, particularly in Orange County, once a sort of homestead for libertarianism, now a production line for convicted felons who simultaneously would hold office. We do look to the future there.

We should like nothing better than to find a politician or a bureaucrat to pat on the back. Not an idle hope, is it? Or was Kierkegaard correct? ■

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On View

By David Brudnoy

NAZI CHIC

The Thousand Year Reich lasted only twelve years, but cinema and literary attention to the Nazi experience is quite likely to endure til the Millennium. Books on Hitler, journal articles on some aspect of that hideous experience, and movies dealing with incidents from 1933 to 1945 come down the pike with the regularity of the tides. Marce Ophuls' remarkable, brilliant if flawed, and nearly four hours' long *Memory of Justice* is the latest of the notable movie attempts to comprehend some part of the horror of National Socialism, in this particular case framed by a probing examination of the nature of guilt and the difficulty of finding real justice in an unjust world.

But for every achievement of the magnitude of the Ophuls film, there are a half dozen much lesser movies, some sickeningly vulgar, sexploitation pure and simple — the theme of nazi sadomasochism is a staple in "pornography" and the chintzier X-rated film — and others less awful but not really much more insightful or worthy of attention.

Currently the splashiest item on the Nazi chic trail (*The Memory of Justice* simply didn't take off outside of New York, more's the pity) is a tear-jerker called *Voyage of the Damned,* boasting over two dozen major stars, and attempting, albeit poorly, a true story of Nazi perfidy. In 1939 the Germans set nearly a thousand Jews loose aboard a liner, the *St. Louis,* bound from Hamburg to Havana. The Jews, from all walks and stations of life, thought they were destined for freedom; the Nazis, however, intended the entire venture as an exercise in propaganda: to prove to the world that *nobody* wanted the Jews, which, as things turned out, was nearly true. Anguish in spades overwhelmed the sad ship of pathetics when Cuba refused the *St. Louis* landing privileges, and Franklin Roosevelt compounded the horror with a similar policy on our shores.

At the very last moment, owing to valiant work by a Jewish relief organization, four European countries (Britain, Holland, Belgium, and France) each agreed to receive a quarter of the passengers; of course the bulk of them wound up in the Nazi hands soon after, as Hitler's legions marched and overran all but Britain. The story is quite true and quite ghastly, and a fine, stirring movie might one day be made of it. *Voyage of the Damned* isn't it. This is a compendium of predictable stereotypes moving mechanically through their parts, a handkerchief every ten minutes required equipment for the audience. We have all your more sinister Nazis; your courageous, decent German (non-Nazi) ship's captain (Max von Sydow, excellent, as always); and the aforementioned cast of dozens, an assemblage of some of Hollywood's finest, all wasted here in their formula roles as Jews high and Jews low, Jews weepy and Jews tough; name the situation and the cliche and *Voyage of the Damned* has it for you.

So Faye Dunaway sports a monocle as a wealthy Jew, Julie Harris tears and whimpers and giggles, Wendy Hiller looks noble — she *always* looks noble; it's in her contract — and away we go through a cast of talents lost in this thicket: James Mason as a good Cuban, Orson Welles as an ambiguous Cuban, Jose Ferrer as a bad Cuban, Ben Gazzara as a tough American Jew, Malcolm McDowell as the oldest cabin boy on earth, winding up dead of his own hand, in bed with his young Jewish girl firend aboard ship, and . . . The *outline* of the Nazi deviousness is sketched, but . . . nothing of substance gets in the way of the pure soap opera . . . that this monumentally expensive, engorged movie becomes after about ten minutes on screen.

Madam Kitty is soft-core "porn." an X-rated disaster that would have one take it seriously because of some alleged correspondence between it and another true story. Seems the Gestapo bugged a German whorehouse, staffed it with specially trained ladies of the night, and recorded all the bedtime frolic, the better to weed out potential or actual defecters from the master race's corps of splendid soldiers. To train the female spies, the authorities devised a wonderfully ingenious course in degradation, much of it gruesomely shown on screen.

In the first such scene three or four dozen of the nubile creatures line up, jaybird naked, and are joined by an equal number of young Nazi studs, the assemblage then abandoning themselves to virtually the whole of the Kama Sutra position book. Next, the ladies are thrown in with dwarfs, cripples, dotards, to test their mettle under less than ideal circumstances. And away we go. The master of the revels is played by Helmut Berger, of late a specialist in enacting kinky roles. Here he's enamored of sequinned outfits, with lightning bolts and bejewelled swastikas for trim, while the title character is played, as some sort of well-meaning bisexual, by Ingrid Thulin, who did another Nazi chic number with Berger a few years ago in *The Damned.*

The movie knows no restraint. The chippies cavort, the soldiers swagger and confide their intimacies, Thulin piles on more make-up and does her entertainment number with the swishiest homosexual types imaginable (this is called entertainment, I imagine, in Nazi-era brothels), Berger shrieks his maniacal orders and fondles his furs. Once more the equation is presented: National Socialism equals sexual perversion. It's all so easy, all so trite. Lovers of flesh on screen might take to a few minutes of this thing, and a few scenes are very well photographed, but the whole's a bomb.

Ralph Bakshi is an animator and moviemaker of truly awesome talent. Previously he produced, most notably, three X-rated full length feature animated films, each displaying tremendous talent but all in some way or other unendurable: *Fritz the Cat, Heavy Traffic,* and *Coonskin.* Bakshi did well in some of the more avantgarde art houses but his films didn't do much business elsewhere. Now he's made his concession to commercial reality and constructed a PG-rated animated feature called *Wizards,* subtitled "A Tale of Sword and Sorcery in the Year 2,000,000 A.D.," and while it's certainly going to make him more money owing to its greater accessability as a non-X film, and though it displays the man's considerable talents and has much power, it too is Nazi chic.

The story takes place far in the future, after the world's been reduced to rubble, and all the earth is populated, where populated at all, by mutants, elves, fairies, and a few vaguely human types. The forces of good are rallied by the old wizard, the bad by his brother, who models his methods and his objectives on — need we say it? — Hitler and the National Socialists.

The conflict ensues in due course, with what seems like hours of war footage, Hitler shrieking, etc., etc., etc., thrown in to spice up the animation. The swastika emerges, in the year 2,000,000 A.D., as the ultimate symbol of horror. Granted, the symbol evokes dread in most civilized persons today, and there are few experiences in our century which can rival the Reich for sheer awfulness. But there *are* a few, and their symbol is hammer and sickle, and their territory is Eurasian, centered in Moscow and Peking.

Not that you would know anything of communism, anything at all, if *Wizards* were your sole introduction to the monstrosity of which twentieth-century man is capable. Not so much as one second in this film touches on anything Red as an example of human evil. One sometimes begins to wonder if the Birchers don't have *something* when they point out what appears to be the massive conspiracy to downplay the evils of communism. Whatever, we're back in the realm of Naziology, the chic use of the National Socialist reign of terror as the ultimate synecdoche for human viciousness. You might ask *why,* but that would be impolite — sort of like asking what's been happening to the million Cambodians set out into the forests by the liberators to wander and die . . . ■

Royce *(Continued from page 14)*

Gold Clause Contracts — Sen. Helms (R-N.C.), along with five other senators, has reintroduced legislation (s. 79) "to restore the freedom to use gold clauses in contracts."

FDA Authority — Rep. Symms submitted legislation (H.R. 53) January 4 to "expand the medical freedom of choice of consumers" by amending the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act to provide that the FDA should not regulate drugs except "to assure their safety." Such legislation, if adopted, would almost certainly permit Americans to use the controversial Vitamin B-17, or Laetrile, alleged to be a cure for cancer.

Sunset Legislation — On January 10 Sen. Muskie (D-Me.) and a bipartisan bloc of 42 cosponsors introduced S. 2, the Sunset Act of 1977. Similar to legislation already in effect in Colorado and Florida, the bill would require review at least once every five years of the need for various federal programs.

Oldies and "Baddies" — Watch for vigorous promotion by organized labor and the liberal Establishment of the 1977 version of the Kennedy-Corman national health insurance bill (h.R. 21, S. 3). The measure is, Rep. Corman (D-Calif.) noted January 6, "virtually unaltered" from its 1974 edition. Major libertarian and conservative lobbying will be required to prevent "the dream of Franklin Delano Roosevelt" from becoming a reality this year. ■

Childs *(Continued from page 5)*

If Prohibition failed, it was not because of any vices, immoralities or weakness on the part of the American people. It was because of their virtues, their moral fibre, their strength: their refusal to blithely accept petty tyranny, their willingness to ignore, ridicule and disobey an unjust law which undermined their essential right to determine their own conduct and consumption in their private lives. Prohibition was, in short, no "noble experiment." It was oppression, pure and simple.

Prohibition may have failed, and the 18th Amendment repealed as a consequence, but its legacy remains in the form of our vicious drug laws. From the very personnel involved (such as Harry Anslinger, longtime Prohibition agent who became chief of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics) to the basic roots, the continum between prohibition of booze and prohibition of drugs, is clear and evident. Both are based on the desire to manipulate other people into living according to one's own "ideals" (no matter how irrationally based) and the acceptance of murder as an ultimate weapon against those who disobey. Both have had disastrous consequences in American life.

The Long Thirst does not detail all of the horrors of Prohibition; it is, as I said, the story of Prohibition in human terms. As such, it falls behind other volumes in the sheer factual information which it imparts to the reader, but it makes up for that flaw by being an absolute delight to read. Comedian George Burns has said of the book: "I read 'The Long Thirst' and enjoyed it thoroughly because I lived through that era." I didn't, and so I enjoyed it all the more. ■

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To Understand Is to Invent

EDUCATION

By Jean Piaget

Reviewed by R. C. Orem / Grossman, 1973 / $7.50

This book consists of two papers prepared for UNESCO by the eminent Swiss psychologist, who has served as chairman of the UNESCO-affiliated International Bureau of Education and head of the Swiss delegation to UNESCO. "The Right to Education in the Present World" is a commentary on Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Article affirming the right to education adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. The essay "A Structural Foundation for Tomorrow's Education" was done in 1971 for the UNESCO International Commission on the Development of Education. These two pieces, written in the closely reasoned style typical of Piaget, can hardly be analyzed in a few hundred words, for every page contains insights worthy of discussion. The present reviewer has therefore endeavored to illustrate the significance of the book with a sampling of the ideas it contains, including theoretical points and practical applications.

Every individual, says Piaget, has the right to develop normally to his or her fullest potential. Accordingly, society is obligated to provide the formative milieu for optimum emotional and intellectual growth. To develop individuals capable of "production and creativity," not simply repetition, experimental activity on the learner's part must be encouraged. The way to educational renewal, he believes, will be through cultivation of the experimental mind. Since the processes of logic are the main tools of the individual's adaption to his environment, the first talks of education is to form reasoning. The basic principle of the new education will be: to understand is to invent, or re-invent (and thus the title of the book).

Not surprisingly, Piaget rejects programmed instruction as not conducive to inventing unless, of course, the child himself does the programming. The same for audio-visual aids generally, leading as they often do to a "verbalization of images" if not accompanied by concrete activities: manipulation, exploration, etc. As is well-known, Piaget's view of the development of intelligence and cognitive structures is constructivist in nature, "a continuous surpassing of successive stages." The teacher must relate her methods and content to the structures and functions that are spontaneously active in the child's mind. Her role is that of an organizer who, by providing for the child a wide variety of interesting materials upon which he can act in freedom, stimulates initiative and experimentation. Scholastic examinations, "the veritable plague on education," are not to be relied upon, for too often it is the lessons rather than the subject which the "bad" student doesn't understand. Piaget's researches have, for example, convinced him that every normal student is capable of good mathematical reasoning if he is provided activities of appropriate interest and allowed to discover relationships by himself.

Piaget offers a number of cogent suggestions for reorganizing the teaching of the liberal arts as well as the sciences, which cannot be elaborated here. But mention should be made of his stress upon structuralism — the underlying structure accounting for phenomena observed; an example would be self-regulation or equilibration in biology.

What will be some of the features of the new education as envisioned by Piaget? There will be greater importance attached to preschool education; close cooperation will exist between basic psychological research in child development and systematic educational experimentation; proper attention will be given to the necessarily interdisciplinary nature at every level of the subjects taught; the child will be given increased practice in observation: an upgraded teacher education can be expected. In short, the school will provide all that is necessary for building a questioning mind and a dynamic moral conscience.

Piaget emphasizes the importance of "real and mutual social experience" for students, including self-government. Alternating individual and group work helps develop a personality balanced between independence and reciprocity — mutual respect for various points of view, and harmonious coordination of actions. Reciprocity builds the spirit of understanding and tolerance towards all nations, racial and religious groups.

Readers will be pleased that *To Understand Is To Invent* is a less difficult book than most of Piaget's works. Students of the Montessori approach will notice a large number of striking compatibilities between the ideas found here and those in the writings of the Italian physician-educator. She, like Piaget, recommends a prepared environment with an array of manipulatable materials fostering individualized education. Her method too emphasizes freedom, activity, self-pacing, the joy of work. Finally, it is worth noting that for years Piaget was president of the Swiss Montessori Society.

To Understand Is To Invent is a book in which Piaget has dealt, to an extent rare for him, with the problems of education and the practical implications of his pioneering work in cognitive development and related fields. It is must reading or, better, must studying for educators and all those concerned with child and adolescent psychology. ■

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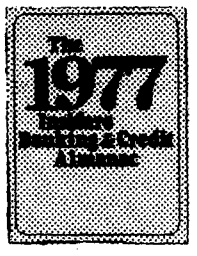

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The author, Mark Skousen, is an insider himself, having worked for the CIA for two years. Presently, he is managing editor of the widely-read *Inflation Survival Letter* and author of the new book, *Playing the Price Controls Game.* Mr. Skousen has a Master's degree in economics. He continually keeps abreast of the banking world and consults often with bankers and financial advisers.

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The Superlawyers

THE STATE

By Joseph Goulden

Reviewed by D.T. Armentano/Dell, 1973/$1.75

This excellent book has been kicking around for years, but to the best of my knowledge has never been reviewed (or even mentioned) in any libertarian publication. And yet this is a great oversight, for Goulden's book is the only one that details the *mechanism* by which corporate interests are able to help shape legislation and governmental institutions in their *own* interest. That mechanism—the human linkage between business and the State—is *The Superlawyers*, and Goulden's account is a thoroughly fascinating study of the lawyers and the law firms that do the (dirty) work.

Goulden precisely sets the theme of his book in his prologue when he says:

> The Washington Lawyer is an important figure in contemporary America because he is often the interface that holds together the economic partnership of business and government. In the decades following the New Deal, at a pace that sharply accelerated during the 1960's, some Washington Lawyers directed a counter-revolution unique in world economic history. Their mission was not to destroy the New Deal, and its successor reform acts, but to conquer them, and to leave their structures intact so they could be transformed into instruments for the amassing of monopolistic corporate power.

Few authors have put it more succinctly than this. And few have gone on to tell so fascinating an account of how it is all accomplished.

This book details the activities of those "specialists for hire" that perform the "interface" function so expertly—and for such lucrative retainers; people such as Clark Clifford (Superclark), the best of the best, and Thomas G. Corcoran (Tommy the Cork), who may know more about regulatory commissions than any man alive. Goulden cites case after case in which the superlawyers work their "magic" on the regulatory fraternity, members of Congress, the court system, and the rest of the Washington establishment. At least one thing is precisely clear from all of this: These people are damn good at what they are about, knowledgeable in the ways and working of bureaucracy, and morally unconcerned about the long-run consequences of corporate statism in America.

Need to deal with the FTC on some matter? See Tommy Austern at Covington & Burling. Have a specific problem with CAB regulations? See Howard Westwood at the same address; he practically *created* the CAB back in the thirties. Need a slightly less prestigious but almost equally effective team of legal knowledgeables? Try Arnold & Porter. Need the number one food and drug lawyer in the world? Go get tough Tommy Corcoran who "walks into an agency with a meat cleaver in his briefcase and chops the hell out of any nincompoop who gets in his way." These boys play for keeps...

There are several drawbacks in the volume that mar its overall effectiveness. One is Goulden's indiscriminate lumping of *legitimate* corporate defense with "offensive" corporate interventionism. Superlawyers, of course, handle either activity adroitly. Another problem is that Goulden naively sees the "new breed" of public interest lawyer in Washington as *balancing off* the private-lawyer power of the corporations, when in reality the new breed simply champions some collectivist cause or client ("Public Interest"; "Consumers").

Despite its flaws, the book deserves to be studied closely by libertarians. Indeed, no analysis of American political economy in the last 40 years is complete without reference to the Goulden book.

Martin *(Continued from page 1)*

kinds, in a fairly advanced stage as early as 1942, but that a heat-seeking, ground-to-air missile with a ceiling of 50,000 feet was nearly in an operational production stage. This would have defeated the Allied bombing campaign in all probability. The failure of any of these programs to become effective before war's end is laid at Hitler's door. An amazing tribute to Speer's organizational skill despite all the roadblocks thrown in his way is that the high point of armament production in Germany steadily went up until the closing four months of the war, by which time catastrophic shortages, the nearly total wrecking of the German transportation system by Anglo-American bombing, and the obliteration of Germany's 70 largest cities brought a down-turn in production curves.

There are many things this reviewer would have been vastly interested in seeing Speer discuss, but little along such lines is to be found. For instance, the remarkable research in synthetic fuels, mainly methanol and ethanol, which, as early as 1938, according to Dr. Tom Reed of MIT's Lincoln Laboratory, accounted for *more than half* of the fuel consumed in Germany, and which were used in immense quantities in tanks, planes and other military vehicles during the war. Another would be the unusual composition of batteries, now being explored by a Texas A&M scientist in the enormous collection of captured German papers lodged in Charlottesville, Va. and elsewhere. Wrecked German military equipment uncovered in the North African desert thirty years later contained batteries that still had a charge. Still another is the incredible German tape recorder, which as early as 1943 was sending out noise-free and uninterrupted symphonic radio broadcasts, at a time when the BBC and others played traditional scratchy recordings which were suspended every four and a half minutes so that they could be turned over. Even the first American tape recorder in 1948 was barely more than a copy of this captured German *Magnetophone,* the inventor of which we do not seem to know. It probably would be too much to expect Speer to know how the German came to invent the microdot during the war.

The principal charge against Speer at the Nuremberg trials was that he allowed forced labor in German industry. On October 1, 1946, he was convicted of this as a war crime and sentenced to 20 years in prison, which he served to the last minute in the grim and bleak Spandau prison in Berlin. Strangely enough, though, on February 17, 1946, seven months before his conviction, General Lucius Clay had introduced the use of forced labor by Germans in the American-occupied zone of Germany. At the time Speer was convicted, Stalin was using millions of Germans as forced labor in Soviet Russia under conditions that made the forced labor in wartime Germany look like a rest home by comparison. So goes the hypocrisy of winners, while uttering synthetic groans of horror at the sins of defeated enemies.

Some parts of *Inside the Third Reich* are supported by comparison with Speer's testimony at Nuremberg, and some are not. Speer's admissions concerning forced labor in his latter account contradict his 1946 position. His fellow Nuremberg defendant Hans Fritsche, in his book on the trials, *The Sword in the Scales* (1953), observes that the prosecution, mainly Justice Robert H. Jackson, tried to get Speer to turn "state's evidence" on this subject against other defendants, but that he "was not to be tempted." "On the contrary," Fritsche went on to say, Speer "went out of his way to emphasize that most of the stories about the maltreatment of foreign labour was pure invention." On one occasion Speer shouted "That's a lie!" when the prosecution tried to introduce an affidavit that workers in one of the Krupp factories were allegedly put in cages. The prosecution hastily backed down from this one. (It probably would take a couple lifetimes to sort out the vulgar Stalinist false-witness from genuine testimony at Nuremberg.)

Speer's *Spandau Diaries* is a personal memoir of more than ordinary import and eloquence on his 20 years in prison. His is the eye of the architect for details, though the sweep of his observations may also have been sharpened by the length and conditions of his imprisonment. There is much gossip about the other six Nazi prisioners with whom he shared this large jail. It is not a systematic diary. There are gaps of weeks and sometimes months between entries (were there materials here that the editors thought we had best not see?). The whole is divided into chapters for each year he was jailed by his Anglo-Franco-Russo-American enemies. During that time he calculated that he walked 20,000 miles in his pacing in the garden and exercise yard of the prison.

We have been treated for over 40 years to a succession of tales that has emphasized the coarse, rude, spiteful and brutal traits of the chiefs of the Nazi regime. A substantial part of both these books is devoted to a gossipy repetition of these, among others, and in this respect is, in the language of the ancients, merely "chewing over old cabbage." Eugene Davidson, in the introduction to the first book, esteems Speer, since here he approaches his ideal cowering German, ready to shoulder responsibility to almost any accusation as charged. Savoring the guilt of Nazis for World War II has been one of Davidson's principal literary pleasures; it is too bad he has not had more opportunities such as that presented by a latter-day Speer.

It appears to be a canon of American publishing also for over 40 years that no one is to publish a word in extenuation of Hitler without risking economic or reputational disaster. (But Doubleday seems to have violated this no-no in having issued John Lukacs' recent book on the first half of World War II.)

In any case, it is more certain that if anyone prominent in the Nazi regime were to get his views published, no matter how bowdlerized, he would be expected to castigate nearly everyone with whom he worked and associated as dunces and near-imbeciles, or as savages without a single endearing quality; being cast as close to non-humans as possible makes it easier to rationalize their subsequent inhuman treatment. Of course the chief villain must always be Hitler, made as gross and barbarous and unreasoning as possible, and capable almost only of bad judgments and irreclaimable mistakes bordering on the idiotic. Speer's books attempt at various places to achieve this ideal, but he foregoes the usual extremes; Hitler is not described as foaming at the mouth and prostrate on the floor, chewing the carpet. (*Teppischfresser* is the German word for the nervous person who paces up and down the floor, which figuratively "eats up" the carpet; for the lamebrain of the English-speaking world this was translated literally in Hitler's case, he being a celebrated agitated floor walker. There are still books which soberly state this rug-chomping to be a fact, as well as endorsing some of the gross caricaturing that was featured in Charlie Chaplin's *Great Dictator.*)

After this now much-repeated narrative of unrelieved incompetence and of basic decisions always made two years too late, one wonders how the Germans, with very poor preparation, were able to take on the world in a war that lasted almost six years, with a large part of their population never in the armed forces or in war production, and for most of the last two years of the war capable of increasing their output steadily, though a large part of their land was in nearly total ruin. It is not explained in these books, nor is it explained in the vast collection of vainglorious works by Germany's conquerors, either.

It is unlikely we shall ever see again an extravaganza such as Nuremberg, and its consequence, the hangings and Spandau, even though Rudolf Hess still keeps the latter open. The 60 or so wars since 1945 have not resulted in another spectacle of this sort. The substitute for public war-guilt shows, excluding the curious sideshow devoted to Lt. William Calley, seems to be that put on in the ferocious Asian and African satrapies that have emerged from the wreckage of European colonialism, namely, the summary execution of the unlucky and the defeated, if they can be caught. Western spokesman wail and wring their hands at this barbarism, but it is perhaps no worse cultural degeneration than the spectacle of the degradation of the concepts of Western jurisprudence at Nuremberg (one should study well Montgomery Belgion's *Victors' Justice* [1949]). As for the statesman of the "civilized world," it long ago was impressed upon them, by the consequences of what they themselves wrought at Nuremberg, that they had better not ever get caught losing another war, especially on the basis of unconditional surrender. ■

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Music IN REVIEW

George, Elton, and Joni

By Steven Utley

George Harrison's latest album, *Thirty-Three & 1/3* (Dark Horse Records, DH 3005), is really no better or worse than any of his previous solo releases. I find it especially saddening, however, because I have finally reached the point where I can no longer ignore the fact that he just isn't so hot.

Old loves die hard. Eric Clapton, once the king of English blues guitarists, has opted for conservative music, tunes as safe and bland as your choice of current disco-pop favorites. The Rolling Stones, once the meanest and most rousing rhythm 'n' blues act around, have become too pat to be taken seriously. Bob Dylan . . . Well, Bob Dylan has always been difficult to keep in sight, but the man lately observed yowling out his old songs on stage, without regard for melody or meaning, is not the man whose voice, however frayed at the edges and uncertain at the center, once lent conviction to those same songs. To admit certain truths after years of denying them is to feel vaguely disloyal.

The ex-Beatles are four parts which do not begin to equal the whole of yore. Paul McCartney has produced some listenable music, but his tendency toward the saccharine and the cutesty& a tendency once held in check by the sardonic John Lennon—usually overwhelms him. Lennon, seemingly torn between basic rock, at which he is a whiz, and the freakishness exemplified by his dreary collaborations with Yoko Ono, performs erratically and ineffectually. Ringo Starr is only as good as his material, and his material, too often, is second-rate or worse.

As for Harrison, his music tends toward shapelessness. His guitar-playing is unremarkable, his song-writing talents minimal, his singing voice thin, without the affecting plaintive bleakness of Roger McGuinn's. The ten tracks on *Thirty-Three & 1/3* range from the barely passable "Learning How to Love You," through an undistinguished rendition of Cole Porter's "True Love," to an utterly fatuous piece of piffle called "Crackerbox Palace"; they all run together in the mind no matter how often one listens to them. Harrison, the quiet Beatle, silent partner to clever John and adorable Paul and motherable Ringo, seems lost on his own.

And, oh God, it hurts me to speak of ex-Beatles. The Beatles were four neatly complementary musicians, singers, composers, some kind of great musical congeries. I miss them like hell. The news of the group's break-up early in 1970 sent a chill through me: *it's over,* a part of me whispered in panic, *it'll never be the same or nearly as much fun from now on . . . .*

Elton John, the 1970's archetypal flashy rock-and-roller, has never been a particular favorite of mine. He has, of course, had his moments. His "Rocketman" stands as one of the present decade's few great pop-music performances, and a handful of his other tracks ("Honky Cat" and "Love Song" come to mind) are nice.

But his level of competence, the level beneath which an artist supposedly will never descend, is not high, and at his worst he is loud, sloppy, self-indulgent. *Blue Moves* (MCA/Rocket 2-11004), a two-record set, contains neither his best work nor his poorest. What it does do is display all of his usual intentions, which are grandioise, and his usual tendencies, which are toward mediocrity. John is capable of infusing a trivial song like "Sorry Seems to Be the Hardest Word" with enough feeling to make it work, but most of the time—and four album sides do add up to a lot of time—he is merely dull.

I am in the process of being won over, sort of, by Joni Mitchell, after holding out against her for years, almost from the nights in 1969 when she first impinged upon my consciousness. I still have reservations about her. As a composer, she has been only slightly less overpraised than Paul Simon; as a performer, she is so polite, so refined and bloodless, at times so painfully affected, that I have frequently found myself longing for an earful of either Bonnie Raitt (living proof that girls can too rock like Chuck Berry) and Carly Simon (a big-city sophisticate who nevertheless understands raunch) or else, because nothing takes away the taste of artiness better than art, Bach and Vivaldi.

Little by little, however, Mitchell has been eroding my resistance. She may wear her sensitivity like a sandwich board, but she does have too much taste to indulge in the self-pitying wallows which mark Janis Ian's work. If it is too much to expect that she will ever loosen up sufficiently to get down and belt out "Dancing in the Street," as Joan Baez has been seen to do at Rolling Thunder Revue concerts, she has demonstrated that she can sing with considerable power and passion.

The listless musician ship which characterized Mitchell's early recordings is giving way to tasteful arrangements calculated to enhance her lyrics. *The Hissing of Summer Lawns* (Asylum 7E-1051), released in 1975, was a revelation to me. It may be the definitive Joni Mitchell album. Even if it isn't, it should not be missed. Her

(Continued on page 22)

THE CASE FOR

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Author of *Atheism: The Case Against God*, George H. Smith is director of the Forum for Philosophical Studies in Los Angeles, and a frequent contributor to *Reason* and *Libertarian Review*.

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Libertarian Cross Currents

By Walter E. Grinder

• A promising new libertarian professional association was formed in Miami in late January, the **Libertarian Medical Association.** Speakers at the founding national convention included Robert Meier, National Director of the Libertarian Party, Llewellyn Rockwell, Jr., Editor of *Private Practice* magazine, and ex-Congressman Dr. Ron Paul of Texas. Let's hope the doctors can get themselves together to fight both the encroachments of state-socialized medicine and the medical profession's own exclusionist union, the American Medical Association.

• Another potentially quite good libertaian professional group is the **Association for Rational Environmental Alternatives.** AREA recently elected themselves a fine new president, **William D. Burt.** Burt is a bright young transportation expert doing his graduate work in both transportation and management science at the Polytechnic Institute of New York. My main reservation about AREA is its tendency toward reformism. I have in mind Burt's unfortunate endorsement of Robert Poole's hyper-reformist book, *Cut Local Taxes.* As libertarians, we must never simply call for more efficiency in government services. We must always hold the banner of liberty high by calling only for a true, private-property, free-market alternative to whatever "public" service is being supplied by the government. It doesn't take a great deal of libertarian moxy to know that a government contract to a "private" firm is hardly free enterprise. Rather than adopting Burt's view of the Poole book, I recommend the analysis of it by **Tom Palmer** in his review in the January/February *Libertarian Review.* We have to make sure that libertarian professional organizations remain radically free-market rather than falling into the coopting trap of reformism. AREA's generally excellent newsletter is *AREA Bulletin.* A regular membership in AREA is $24; Associate Membership is $12. On matters of membership write to Robert Poole, Jr., 1169 Summit Road, Santa Barbara, CA 93108. On *Bulletin* inquiries write to William D. Burt, 532 Prospect Ave., No. 3, Brooklyn, NY 11215.

• The most significant libertarian educational and organizational exercise of 1976 was the **Libertarian Party** presidential campaign of **Roger MacBride.** This campaign, however, cost a great deal of money. The Libertarian Party incurred a sizable campaign debt. Before the party can go forward to get ready for the next congressional campaign and for the 1980 run for the presidency, this debt must be paid off. All libertarians are encouraged to join the helping to pay their part of the debt (really an investment in libertarian education and organizing). Please send your check today to the Libertarian Party, 1516 P Street, Washington, DC 20005.

• **Carl Bode,** the perceptive biographer of H.L. Mencken, is teaching a course this spring on Mencken, his thought, times and influence, called "The Mencken Era."

• I've been around the libertarian movement for a number of years now, and there is one aspect of the movement that I have always found especially repugnant. This aspect is that one which I'll dub as the "I'm a libertarian-for-profit" syndrome. One variation on this theme has been the almost total distortion of Ludwig von Mises' business cycle insights into a vulgar "let's-get-ready-for-the-depression" program. Very few of the practitioners of this "let's-clean-up-on-the-depression" philosophy would deign to walk across the street for liberty if it were not possible to profit monetarily from some aspect of the business cycle. There is nothing wrong with profit. On the contrary, profit is a positive socioeconomic good. No economy can function well without profit, and no restrictions must ever be placed in the way of profit. But profit *per se* has nothing whatever to do with liberty. Liberty is a matter of justice. Individual and politicosocial justice, if you will. Beware the beguiling equation of liberty and profit-in-your-pocket. If anything, the contrary is far more likely. Why the foregoing caveat? Well, I've never been fond of the spate of gold-investment newsletters that have grown up around the fringes of Austrain economics and the libertarian movement, and for the most part I would like to disassociate myself from these disconcerting and usually misleading rags.

• There is one "newsletter" which, however, I would like to recommend most enthusiastically: *World Market Perspective* is published by ERC Publishing Co, P.O. Box 91491, West Vancouver, B.C., Canada. **Jerome F. Smith** is the driving force behind **ERC (Economic Research Counsellors),** and Smith is a devoted follower both of Ludwig von Mises and the Austrian School of economic analysis anf of the late F.A. "Baldy" Harper, one of the libertarian movement's foremost analysts and antagonists of the State. Smith and his people at ERC have been able to weave together the best in the thought of these two libertarian giants and consistently (each month) come up with extremely insightful economic analysis of world economic affairs.

• The one other "newsletter" that I would recommend is the **National Committee for Monetary Reform's** *Gold Newsletter,* NCMR 1524 Hillary Street, New Olreans, 70118. The quality is not as consistently high nor is the tone as consistently antistate and pro-Austrian analysis, but editor **James U. Blanchard III** is bright, fair, and libertarian. He always gives the Austrians their fair share.

• One of libertarianism's truly brightest young stars is **Lawrence H. White.** White, although only an undergraduate at Harvard University, has already done some original theoretical work in both Austrian economics and libertarian legal theory (bankruptcy, in a paper

AN AFTERWORD FROM Readers, Authors, Reviewers

Answer to an Answer:

May I be permitted a rejoinder to Childs' review of my *Answer to Ayn Rand*? I find Childs' ambivalence toward my book, to use his term, engaging. However, I think that he misunderstands or failed to read portions of the book, which leads him to criticize it for the wrong reasons.

My "first mistake", he writes, is criticizing Objectivism on the basis of its published writings, and not on the basis of its taped lectures, which he refers to as indicating so much "gall" on my part that it "boggles the mind". Unfortunately for his criticism, in the next sentence Childs states that the principals of the philosophy [Objectivism] itself ... do not ever seem to have understood that serious philosophy cannot be done in taped lectures ... [and] this procedure precludes serious investigation by scholars, and, hence, fundamental debate...." Astonishingly, after saying that the taped lecture procedure precludes serious investigation, Childs concludes by writing that "Nonetheless, Robbins does not use the sources he should have." This truly is mind boggling. For the record, I discuss the problems of the Objectivist canon in the Introduction to my book, and state quite clearly my reasons for using only the published works. (See p. 2.)

Second, Childs argues that my neglect of the taped lectures causes me to misunderstand Objectivism. The example he gives of such an alleged misunderstanding is that I confuse Rand's theory of concepts with Aristotle's. Even if Childs' allegation were true (it is not), it certainly does not follow that my ("misunderstanding" of Rand's theory of concepts is caused by my neglect of the taped lectures, for Rand discusses her theory of concepts, as distinct from Aristotle's, at length in the *Introduction to Objectivist Epistemology*, which is, may I point out, a published work.

Childs' allegation that I confuse Rand's and Aristotle's theories of concepts is answered in sections III and IV of Chapter Two of my book. On page 39 I quote Rand's statement from the *Introduction* (p. 26):

> When concepts are integrated into a wider one, the new concept includes *all* the characteristics of its constituent units; but their distinguishing characteristics are regarded as omitted measurements, and one of their comon characteristics becomes the distinguishing characteristic of the new concept....

I proceed to criticize this statement on pages 39 and 40. On page 40 I quote Rand (*Introduction*, p. 29) as follows:

> A widespread error ... holds that the wider the concept, the less its cognitive content—on the ground that its distinguishing characteristic is more generalized than the distinguishing characteristics of its constituent concepts. The error lies in assuming that a concept consists of nothing but its distinguishing characteristic. But the fact is that in the process of abstracting from abstractions, one cannot know *what* is a distinguishing characteristic unless one has observed other characteristics of the units involved and of the existents from which they are differentiated.
>
> The simple confusion apparent here is the confusion between the concept and the process of concept-formation. Quite obviously "abstraction" implies a mass from which certain factors are removed (abstracted) and certain other factors are left undisturbed. In this sense, abstraction clearly means that there are more characteristics in the particulars than in the concept. [At this point I quote Peikoff's "The Analytic-Synthetic Dichotomy" for corroboration.] A corollary is that in order to abstract one must be aware of characteristics which are not abstracted. But it certainly does not follow from this that the concept, *i.e.*, the abstraction, is as "full" as the particulars. If this were the case, one could hardly speak of an *abstraction*.

On pages 39 and 40 I write:

> The statement [Rand's] is problematic because Rand insists that "the new concept includes *all* the characteristics of its constituent units", *i.e.*, there is no abstraction; but that "their distinguishing characteristics [*i.e.*, their differentia] are regarded as omitted measurements ...", *i.e.*, there is abstraction. Now I submit that these two notions are irreconcilable: either a concept includes all "constituent characteristics" or it excludes them. Recourse to a phrase such as "regarded as omitted" is inadmissible, for the question whether such a regarding is part and parcel of a concept remains. Obviously, if characteristics which are included in a concept are regarded as omitted, then the regarding is a serious cognitive error.

I must conclude that when Childs says "Robbins misses the point", it is Childs who has missed the point; and that when he says "Robbins grasps none of this ["Rand's attempt to distinguish her theory from Aristotle's"] it is actually Childs who has grasped none of what I wrote in sections III and IV of my chapter on Objectivist Epistemology.

Rather than refuting Childs' other charges at length, I will close by asserting (read the book for the arguments) that I do not get "tangled up in the Objectivist theory of axioms"—I merely show what a can of worms those alleged axioms are: nor do I forget that "proof presupposes the means of proof, *i.e.*, the axioms", because I say (and Childs quotes from my book, page 140) that we know the axiom "the Bible is the Word of God" from statements made in the Bible; nor do I say that the choice of axioms is arbitrary (in fact I deny it—page 142); nor do I engage in "stunts" and "razzle-dazzle" in my critique of science.

I would like to thank Mr. Childs for his favorable comments about my book, and Libertarian Review for publishing his review of it.

JOHN W. ROBBINS
Arlington, Va.

Letters from readers are welcome. Although only a selection can be published and none can be individually acknowledged, each will receive editorial consideration and may be passed on to reviewers and authors. Letters submitted for publication should be brief, typed, double spaced, and sent to LR, 200 Park Avenue South, Suite 1707, New York, NY10003.

Childs Responds

My review of John Robbins' book *Answer to Ayn Rand* was indeed deficient: it was far too short. At the reque of Karl Pflock, for reasons of space, m itial review of the book was cut in ha , necessitating that I squeeze far too much into such a brief review. But, to respond briefly to some of the points which he raises:

In my review, I claim that Mr. Robbins should have listened to the relevant taped lectures on Objectivism. In his book he says, in effect, that he will not consider them because they are relatively inaccessible. But accuracy in representing any set of ideas requires that one make *full use* of available sources. Let us consider the problem in essence. Mr. Robbins spends a great deal of space in his book on Ayn Rand's views in the theory of knowledge. In most editions of her 70 page epistemology monograph, Ayn Rand refers her readers to Leonard Peikoff's course on "Objectivism's Theory of Knowledge," for a fuller treatment of her views, which views she only sketches in her monograph. Dr.

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delivered at the 1976 Libertarian Scholars Conference at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel). Among his other numberous credits, he is on the editorial committee of the **Center for Libertarian Studies** *Newsletter* (soon to be renamed *In Pursuit of Liberty*)), and he is the editor of the *Harvard Political Review.* In a recent issue of the latter, White had a brilliant editorial, "On Private Questions and Public Questions". I hope the liberal do-gooders and future bureaucrats at Harvard follow his admonition to them to mind their own business. In the same issue White had a joint review of two important revisionist history books that libertarians should be reading: *Watershed of Empire* edited by Leonard P. Liggio and James J. Martin (Ralph Myles Publisher, $10) and *Henry Wallace, Harry Truman, and the Cold War* by Richard J. Watson (Viking Press, $12).

• **The Center for Libertarian Studies** (200 Park Avenue South, Suite 911, New York, NY 10003) continues to grow. Besides sponsoring a weekly seminar on Austrian, free-market economics, the Center an beginning an ongoing seminar on the libertarian heritage. This spring's calendar includes the following seminars: February 4, Professor **Paul Avrich** of Queens College spoke on "New Lights on Benjamin R. Tucker"; March 11, Professor **Camille Castorina** of St. Johns' University will speak on "Richard Cobden and the Manchester School of Economics"; April 1, **Carl Watner** of Baltimore, Md., will speak on "Benjamin R. Tucker and his Periodical *Liberty*"; May 6, **Charles Hamilton,** Publisher of Free Life Editions will speak on "Auberon Herbert and *Free Life.*" Fee: $5 per session; Center Friends and students, $3. The program director is Professor **Joseph R. Peden.**

• On the anarchocapitalist front, a very important debate took place in November over in England at a meeting of the **Adam Smith Club.** The debate was entitled "Must We Abolish the State?" It was between Prof. **Arthur Shenfield** (Nay) and **David Ramsey Steele** (Yea). Shenfield is a well-known and distinguished advocate of the classical-liberal free market. Steele, an anarcho-capitalist—and a former Marxist—is now a thorough Misesian convert whose Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Hull is a full-fledged Austrian critic of Marxist economics. For more on the outcome of the debate, write to Chris R. Tame, Secretary, c/o Institute for Economic Affairs, 2 Lord North Street, Westminister, London S.W. 1, England.

• The forthcoming changeover in ownership and editorial control of *Libertarian Review* is another indication of the growth of the libertarian movement. The first thing that must be pointed out is that **Robert D. Kephart** has for the past several years kept this crucially important educational vehicle alive out of his own pockets. The whole movement owes Bob a tremendous debt of gratitude. Bob has, however, been extremely busy of late and has been unable to devote as much attention as he would have liked to *LR.* both the time and financial drain simply were too much. **Karl Pflock,** *LR* editor for the past three years, could devote only part of his time to the magazine. Fortunately, a buyer was found who could support the magazine financially and hire the full-time talent that such a periodical needs. **Roy A. Childs** will be coming back as full-time editor. Roy, as many of you know, is a past editor of *LR* and one of the most knowledgeable minds on both scholarly and organizational matters in the libertarian movement. Welcome back, Roy! The operations of *LR* will be moving up to the Big Apple, where **Charles Hamilton,** publisher of **Free Life Eitions,** will serve as publisher. *LR* will become a monthly magazine again beginning in September. Good luck to both Roy and Chuck!

• The Austrian Economics resurgence continues to grow. The most exciting news comes from the University of Chicago where libertarian/Austrian activist **David Theroux** has been instrumental in arranging a series of seminars on various aspects of Austrian thought to be cosponsored by the **University of Chicago Graduate School of Business** and the **William Koch Foundation.** The schedule is as follows: January 18, **Israel M. Kirzner** of New York University spoke on "Market Process vs. Market Equilibrium: The Problem of Social Coordination"; February 1, **Mario Rizzo** of New York University spoke on "Praxeology and Econometrics: A Critique of Positivist Economics"; February 15, **Gerald P. O'Driscoll, Jr.,** of Iowa State University spoke on "Stagflation, The Keynesian-Monetarist Quagmire: The Hayekian Perspective"; March 1, **Ludwig M. Lachmann** of New York University spoke on "The Inadequacy of Macro-Formalism: A Subjectivist Critique of Capital Theories"; April 5, **Murray N. Rothbard** speaks on "Preference, Profit and the 'Public Sector': A Critique of Welfare Economics and Monopoly Theory". Later in the spring term, **F. A. Hayek** will speak on recent developments in economic theory.

• More on Austrianism: At **Claremont College,** May 26-29, there will be a symposium on the thought of Carl Menger. Speakers will include **F. A. Hayek, Gerald P. O'Driscoll** and others . . . It seems that a session devoted to the thought of Carl Menger may also be taking place at the annual meeting of the **Atlantic Economic Society** in Washington, D.C., October 12-15. More later on this one : . . At the annual meeting of the **Public Choice Society** at the Braniff Place Hotel in New Orleans, March 10-12, a very important session on economic knowledge, information and expectations will be chaired by Professors **Richard Wagner** and **Robert Staaf** of **Virginia Polytechnic Institute.** They will be delivering a quasi-Austrian paper and there will also be a paper given by **Israel Kirzner** with comments by **Gerald P. O'Driscoll, Jr.** . . . Recommended is an article by William Jaffe, "Menger, Jevons and Walras De-Homogonized," in *Economic Inquiry* December 1976. This piece shows conclusively the distinctiveness of the three neo-classical giants. The article demonstrates that each made a unique contribution. It begins the process of disentangling the work of each. It clearly gives support to those who see a distinctively Austrian contribution. The article is surprisingly approving of Menger, especially given that it is written by Walras' biographer and translator. A "must" for those interested in Austrianism . . .

• A number of good things are happening among the growing number of libertarian-oriented philosophers across the country. Professors **Charles King** and **Tibor Machan** are directing a **Liberty Fund** conference at California's Pomona College, "Reason, Values, and Political Principles." Most Liberty Fund conferences are by invitation only, but for information about how things went, write to Prof. King, Department of Philosophy, Pomona College.

• The **Center for Libertarian Studies** and the **Austrian Institute** (an Austrian cultural exchange institute) will cosponsor a talk by Professor **Ludwig M. Lachmann** on "The Resurgence of Austrian Economics". It will be held at the Austrian Institute (11 East 52nd St., New York City) at 1:30 p.m., Wednesday, March 16. The talk is free and open to the public. After the talk, there will be reception where participants can meet Professor Lachmann and many other of the people associated with the Center for Libertarian Studies. ■

Peikoff's course consists of ten lectures which, if transcribed, would constitute a manuscript on Ms. Rand's views of approximately 500-600 pages. Surely, this is a highly significant source which anyone who wants to understand Ayn Rand's views *must* consult. Where Ayn Rand often flicks off a solution to a problem in a couple of sentences, Leonard Peikoff "unpacks" and fills in her argument, under her guidance, until he has discussed various aspects of the point under consideration for as much as fifteen to twenty minutes. To make the point more specific: Dr. Peikoff, in his spistemology and history of philosophy lectures, discusses the difference between the Objectivist view of concepts and that of Aristotle at considerable length. Ayn Rand's statement in her epistemology monograph is only a paragraph long.

In his comments on Ayn Rand's theory of concepts, Mr. Robbins simply confuses the matter more, for example, when he *equates* a "concept" with an "abstraction." For Rand, abstraction is *part*, and only part, of the process by which one forms a concept. "Abstraction" is a selective mental focus which enables us to organize what we know. It is not a process cut off from the rest of what we know about things; it is not, in short, a process cut off from our *minds* and our *memories. That* is why we can, when considering an entity or an issue, consider only a few things at a given time, remembering all the while that there are indeed other things to recall if the need arises. Characteristics which are, as Rand says, "regarded as omitted," *remain* characteristics of whatever we are talking about. What we do in the process of concept-formation is to *order* our knowledge in a certain way, depending on both our purposes and on the objective requirements of cognition. In her theory of concepts, Ayn Rand never forgets that we are dealing with a human process which serves certain specific *purposes.* Mr. Robbin suggests that if a concept includes *all* the characteristics of its referent, *then there is no abstraction.* But how does this follow? In fact, all that Mr. Robbins has done is that of which I accused him in the first place: he has confused Rand's view of "abstraction" with the more conventional view of the Aristotelian-Thomistic school of thought. But to grasp why this is so, and to grasp fully what she means by "abstraction," requires both that one become familiar with the other sources, such as the Peikoff epistemology course, and that one recognize precisely in what respects Rand's whole *approach* to the theory of knowledge is different from other theorists. They are not matters to be discussed in a "letters to the editor" column.

If, in the meantime, anyone wishes to read the more lengthy critique of John Robbins' *Answer to Ayn Rand* which I prepared when I wrote the initial review, they may send me $1 to xerox and mail the 3000 word critique. I can be reached, naturally, c/o *Libertarian Review.*

ROY A. CHILDS, JR.
New York City

European Unity?

In Mr. Morley's review of Mr. Kissinger's book (LR nr.6) he says that "the emergence of a United States of Europe remains a dream" and he speaks in highly positive terms of the European Economic Community. I find it rather surprising to encounter these opinions in a libertarian publication. From a libertarian point of view, what is so great about union? It is true that the States of America, by uniting themselves, have been able to shed the yoke of British colonialism, but they could equally well have done so by a one-time one-purpose cooperative effort without "superimposing political agencies" with their consequent infreingements of freedom. Mr. Morley himself already mentions that this imposed unification led to the civil war. And in our own time I estimate—admittedly a rough guess by an outsider—that at least 60% of the infringements on personal liberty in the US finds their origin at the Federal level and consequently would not have come to pass if the States of America had not formed that Union which Mr. Morley seems to esteem so highly. Let me add a European example of the consequences of union: in 1648 the Holy Roman empire (i.e. roughly Germany and Austria) consisted of 331 different kingdoms, duchies, free cities, bishoprics, independent monasteries and what not. After the "mediatization" imposed by the Congress of Vienna (1814) this number was reduced to 38 and the "Reichsgründung" of 1871, engineered by Bismarck, made Germany (without Austria) into a complete political union. Can anyone conceive of Germany causing two world wars if it had still consisted of 331 virtually independent territories like in 1648? And can anybody conceive of the States of America entering in both wars if they hadn't been the *United* States of America? The ultimate effect of union to America has been to move the center of oppression from London to Washington. To libertarians the emergence of a United States of Europe would not be a dream, it would be a nightmare.

As for the EEC, alias the Common Market, if there is one thing it isn't, it's a market, at least not in any sense a libertarian would give to that word. It is indeed a case of "centralized planning by a competent (?) international bureaucracy". The EEC is in fact a planned, regulated and collectivistic economic dictatorship. If the internal frontier barriers to the passage of goods and workers have indeed been greatly lowered, this is certainly not due to any kind of economic freedom, as the words "Common Market" falsely suggest. It is solely due to the fact that bureaucratic obstructions of the market mechanism have been made equal throughout the EEC. If there are any "notable gains in productivity" due to the EEC, they have escaped my notice. On the contrary, the agricultural economic policy of the EEC has always been and continues to be a disaster with shortages and overproduction being the order of the day. Two years ago ('75) there was a severe shortage of sugar, lasting several months and last year there was a shortage of potatoes for almost the whole year. On the other hand dairy products continue to be grossly overproduced year after year. A few years ago the EEC sold a gigantic surplus of butter to the Soviet Union at 10 cts.(US) for half a pound whereas those blessed to live in the EEC continued to pay nearly a dollar for the same amount. And at the moment I am writing this there is a shortage and consequent 100% price increase of .. Christmas trees! Perhaps the true nature of the EEC can best be gauge from the following recent observation jokingly made but all too serious in its consequences: the Lord's Prayer contains 56 words; the Ten Commandments 297 words; the American Declaration of Independence 300 words and the Common Market regulations on the import of caramel 126,911 words!

By its very nature the EEC is not and can not be instrumental to any détente. It is not an instrument of unity but of uniformity and as such it can only bring bitter discontent, the sweetening effects of imported caramel notwithstanding.

Yours sincerely,
R. F. A. VOGEL
Amsterdam,
Netherlands

(Continued on page 22)

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An Afterwood

(Continued from page 21)

Mr. Riggenbach?

Mr. Riggenbach's reply in the "Afterword" column of the September-October issue of *Libertarian Review* simply will not do. He had asserted that a given work was "one of the shrillest defenses of Christian altruism outside the works of C. S. Lewis." Knowing Lewis to have been a critic of altruism, I inquired where, in the works of C. S. Lewis, one finds *any* defense of altruism, and I suggested that Mr. Riggenbach made his claim only because he failed to make a distinction between charity and altruism, though Lewis did make the distinction in several books I named.

Normally, when one asks "where is such-and-so," he may anticipate an answer of the form "in such-and-such a place." Instead, Mr. Riggenbach has given a rather pouting reply to the effect that since Lewis does not distinguish between altruism and charity in all his books—citing the first volume of *The Chronicles of Narnia, The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe (TLTW&TW)*, as an example—there was no basis on which I might insist that Lewis was not championing altruism in that book.

The Professor in *TLTW&TW* becomes rather exasperated a couple of times and wonders aloud, "What *do* they teach them at these schools?" and I must confess that this answer provokes me to wonder the same with regard to Mr. Riggenbach. I did not ask where one fails to find a distinction made between the two; I asked where a defense of one of them—altruism—was to be found, and this surely should be no difficult task if Lewis is indeed the author of the shrillest defense of Christian altruism.

One does not expect to find philosophical distinctions carefully drawn in a "noteworthy work of English literary art" (an appellation bestowed on *The Chronicles of Narnia* by Riggenbach), because such dialectics are usually out of place. The absence of the drawing of a distinction between altruism and charity therefore implies a shrill defense of neither. Riggenbach might just as well say that in *We the Living* Ayn Rand has written a shrill defense of Stirnerite egoism, on the basis of there being no explanation of the difference between her brand of egoism and Stirner's in that book.

Further, though this is a side issue, the books I named were all published in one form or another prior to the publication of *TLTW&TW*. Mr. Riggenbach's discussion of Book A's not being clarified by subsequent Book B therefore is not even addressed to his own example. It perhaps could even be cogently argued that these books contribute to the context in which *TLTW&TW* appeared, and that Mr. Riggenbach's claim that there is no basis on which one can believe that Lewis is commending charity rather than altruism is merely a bit of context-dropping.

Due to Mr. Riggenbach's specific mention of the book, I have reread *TLTW&TW*, and I really found nothing that even looked like a defense of altruism. Lewis does commend telling the truth, keeping promises, honestly, gratitude, minding one's own business, common sense, logic courses, respect for the natural moral law, and the like; he rejects lying, treachery, blanking out, power-lusting, compulsory education, etc. Can the former of these be what Riggenbach has in mind? Does his brand of egoism exclude them? Does he think that altruism consists of them?

Probably not. Probably what he has in mind is Aslan's death, which he probably regards as "sacrificial." But if this is the basis for his charge of defending altruism, then *Atlas Shrugged* with John Galt's surrender and torture ("it had to be me, if they were to try their last, and they've tried, and . . . that's that") will fare no better, for the two events are closely analogous. Perhaps Mr. Riggenbach will want to amend his original statement, in light of this, to read that "The Happy Prince" is one of the shrillest defenses of altruism outside the works of C. S. Lewis and Ayn Rand.

Come, then, Mr. Riggenbach, stop whining about obscurities and put aside snide remarks about "writers who publish before troubling to learn how to say what they mean"—remarks totally out of place when you are discussing a book which you've extolled only two months earlier—and come to the point: Where is Lewis's defense of Christian altruism (whatever that is) than which none shriller can be found?

RONN NEFF
Alexandria

Utley *(Continued from page 19)*

most recent release, *Hejira* (Asylum 7E-1087), is less startling and less of a cohesive unit. There is nothing in it as bad as *Summer Lawns'* one blemish, an interminable tuneless glob called "The Jungle Line." On the other hand, there is nothing quite as enthralling as "Edith and the Kingpin" or "The Boho Dance," either. *Hejira* flows more or less smoothly from beginning to end. What it is, I think, is simply par for Mitchell's course, the sort of thing (to paraphrase Max Beerbohm) people who like this sort of thing will like. ■

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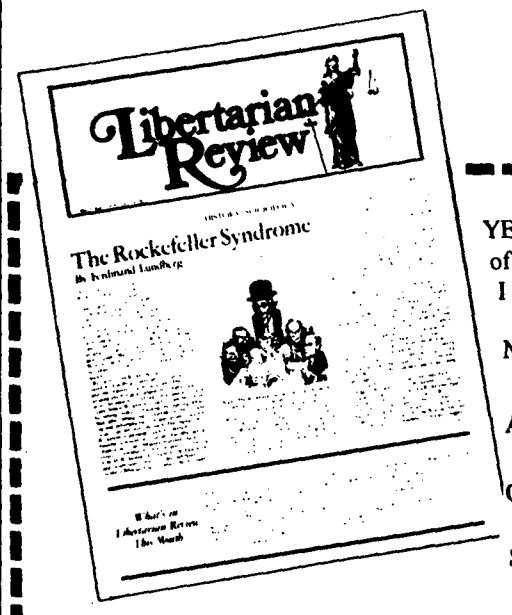

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